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THE HISTORY OF THE ADVERB IN IRISH

by

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**Presented towards the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
the University of Edinburgh**

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Till min Far och minnet av min Mor

Preface

This study, which attempts to provide an outline of the development of one particular part of the grammar of Irish, arose out of a suggestion made to me by Professor Kenneth Jackson, in whose department the work has been carried out. I am deeply thankful to him, not only for this, but also for his generous advice and constructive encouragement in supervising my studies.

I have also had the benefit of being supervised by Professor John Lyons, to whom I am much indebted, especially for helping me to clarify theoretical assumptions that underlie my work.

For financial assistance during the past three years I am under obligation to Suomen Kulttuurirahasto and to Nylands nation vid Helsingfors universitet for helping me through the initial stages and to the University of Edinburgh for a Postgraduate Studentship in my final year.

The dedication to my parents will, I hope, speak for itself.

Edinburgh, April 1974

Anders Eric Olof Ahlqvist

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Summary

In the introductory Part I, the parts of speech in general and in Irish are first discussed, paying special attention to those ideas that won ground in the Irish tradition. The role of the concept of "adverbs" is discussed, as is its place in Indo-European languages and Irish linguistics.

In Part II, morphology, an outline is given of various ways used to form adverbs in Irish, noting the scarcity of ones that derive directly from adverbs in Indo-European. Formations from adjectives and nouns are discussed. For this purpose Old Irish often uses a particle ind; the proposals regarding its origin are evaluated. A selection is given of the numerous prepositional phrases in the language that may be said to have developed into adverbs. In some cases there is no preposition or other particle. There are also some adverbial prefixes of verbs.

The adverbs of place form an interesting system; the elements used to form this pattern are dealt with in some detail, especially the dominant initial morphemes t-, s- and an-, but consideration is also given some other ones. Pronominal formations are expectedly found, ones that derive from conjugated prepositions and others from other sources. Finally, mention is made of certain problematical formations.

Part III, syntax, is mostly concerned with the relationship between adverbials and other major constituents in Irish sentences, i.e. structures where the adverbial qualifies a predicate of some sort. The general pattern of word-order in Irish is discussed, noting the place of adverbials. The syntax of sentences where an adverbial is preposed with the copula is dealt with, paying special attention to the interesting variations that exist both on the time scale (from Old Irish to the present-day dialects) and on the dialect map, i.e. between Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic with Manx in an intermediary position.

The disappearance of adverbs in ind is discussed, together with the emergence of ones in co (go, gu etc.), as is their pattern of occurrence together with attá 'is' and other verbs. The adverbs of place naturally often occur together with verbs of state and movement; some tendencies are noted, as in the case of adverbs of time.

Finally, there is a section on the syntax of adverbs within phrases, i.e. where they qualify adjectives, nouns and other adverbs.

Part IV, reference section, gives a bibliography that lists texts cited and authors quoted. It also contains a selective index of words mentioned in the text.

PART I. BACKGROUND

Introduction

§ 1. The topics dealt with in this introductory part derive from the topic of the work itself. Since this deals with the historical development of a word-class or part of speech of traditional grammar, it will, I hope, be helpful briefly to look at the history of these in linguistic thought in general. The origin and history of the term describing the part of speech under investigation naturally deserves some further comment in order to clarify as much as one can a never very well-defined element in language.

Here we shall be dealing with one particular language, Irish, and to some extent with its more recent off-shoots, Scottish Gaelic and Manx. The grammatical tradition of these languages is highly interesting and thus a brief look at it may provide a useful background to the problems at hand, focusing on what it has to say about adverbs and to some extent on what it omits to say about them.

A point of particular importance concerns terminology. Unfortunately, much confusion is still reigning in many branches of linguistics on this point. On the whole, I have preferred to use the kind of terminology used in most studies concerning the Celtic languages; these are rarely very different from those in traditional grammar and historical linguistics. On the other hand, it is obvious that the advances of

linguistics in modern times has made it necessary to define the terms used somewhat more narrowly than sometimes was done previously. Nevertheless, I hope that this will merely have the effect of making what follows readable and useful to modern linguists, without, however, making it incomprehensible to most Celticists.

The Parts of Speech in General

§ 2. This section will deal with some general trends in the evolution of theories concerning the parts of speech, concentrating¹ on those that belong to the main tradition and are relevant to what Irish grammarians thought.

In Western thinking about language, the first known reference to a division of the parts of speech is to be found in the works of Plato: it deals with the distinction between verbs and nouns, taking these terms in a much wider sense than they would nowadays. This is discussed by Robins² and more thoroughly by Steinthal³. Very briefly, what emerges from Plato's writings is that his terms (*ῥῆμα* and *ὄνομα*) are found in discussions of language in earlier dialogues but are not given an exact definition until the Sophistes⁵, where examples

¹This relieves one of the obligation of dealing, amongst others, with Varro's very interesting grammar, cf. Michael 1970, 48-9.

²1967, 26 ³1890, 137-44 ⁴Pl. Crat. 525^a and Thet. 206^d

⁵Soph. 261^e1-262^d6

are given of both classes and of how, together, they may form a sentence, for which the term *λόγος* is used. However, even this passage is quite incidental to the discussion of a philosophical issue, in this case the apparent contradiction inherent in the existence of falsehood. On the other hand, as Palmer¹ stresses: "This simple dichotomy is a powerful aid in the dismemberment of utterances, and it gives us the two most important 'parts of speech'."

It is generally accepted that Aristotle added a further part of speech to Plato's *ῥήματα* and *ὀνόματα*, namely that of "conjunctions", as Lyons² translates the terms *σύνδεσμος* and *ἄρθρον*³. At first the Stoics distinguished four parts, using *ἄρθρον* to include pronouns and particles⁴. Later they added a fifth by separating the nouns into *ὄνομα* 'proper noun' and *ὄνομα προσηγορικόν* or *προσηγορική* 'appellative noun'. This was not adopted by Dionysius Thrax⁵, with whom the canonical number of eight parts of speech is reached. He sets them down⁶ as *ὄνομα*, *ῥήμα*, *μετοχή*, *ἄρθρον*, *ἀντωνυμική*, *περίθεσις*, *ἐπίρρημα* and *σύνδεσμος*, with which one may compare the Latin terms used by Donatus: "Nomen pronomen verbum

¹1972,90 ²1968,11 ³The text (Arist.Poet. ch. 20) is somewhat corrupt, but I cannot see any reason for disagreeing with Steinthal's arguments (1890,263-5) for considering that Aristotle meant the same thing by both words.

⁴Cf. Lyons 1968,12 and Steinthal 1890,297 ⁵He goes so far as to state that he disagrees with this. Cf. 23.6-7.

⁶Dion. Thrax 23.5-6.

adverbium participium coniunctio praepositio interiectio".¹

The terms correspond exactly, with the exception that

ἀρθεον disappears and "interiectio" is added. This seems to be the work of Remnius Palaemon² and is understandable enough since Latin has no article³.

§ 3. However, the primacy of noun and verb was still recognised by most grammarians, including Donatus who⁴ writes: "ex his duae sunt principales partes orationis, nomen et verbum". In the same vein we find Isidore⁵ stating: "Partes orationis Aristoteles duas tradidit, nomen et verbum. Deinde Donatus octo definivit. Sed omnes ad illa duo principalia revertuntur, hoc est, ad nomen et verbum, ~~ad nomen et verbum~~, quae significant personam et actum. Reliquae appendices sunt, et ex his originem trahunt." Similar ideas had been expressed earlier by Consentius⁶ and were to be repeated later by Malsachanus⁷. Thus it is hardly surprising that similar

¹Donat. 355.2-3; cf. 372.25-6. ²Cf. Steinthal 1891, 218.

³Cf. Donat. 372.27-8. ⁴372.25-6. ⁵Etym. i ch. 6 § 1.

⁶Cons. 338.4-8: "Partes orationis secundum grammaticos octo sunt, id est nomen pronomen verbum adverbium participium coniunctio praepositio interiectio. ex his duae sunt principales partes orationis, nomen et verbum, quae coniunctae locutionem efficiunt. Omne enim quod mente concepimus nomine explicatur et verbo."

⁷Mals. 173.1-9: "Oratio dicta est quasi oris ratio, cuius partes VIII numerantur: nomen...interiectio. Ex his duae sunt principales partes: nomen et uerbum, quia coniunctae locutionem faciunt, ut 'magister scripsit', 'orator docuit', quod aliae non possunt facere. Ut si dicas 'ante templum' et non iungas 'ago', non stat loquutio. Dicit enim grammaticus: "Omne, quod mente concepimus, nomine et verbo explicatur." Ceterae ex his duobus partibus appendices dicuntur." Note how close to Consentius and Isidore this is.

ideas found their way into Irish grammar¹. From our point of view it is also important to note that Malsachanus was an Irishman.

§ 4. In the Western tradition, Dionysius's division has survived to our days, with certain additions, notably that of the adjective. In the scholastic tradition, the Aristotelian division still survives.² There are some interesting exceptions amongst grammarians proper. Thus Sanctius states, writing in 1584, that "Sunt autem hæc tria, nomen, verbum, particula: nam apud Hebræos tres sunt partes orationis, nomen verbum & dictio consignificans. Arabes quoque has tantum tres orationis partes habent: Pheal, verbum; Ismī, nomen; Herph, dictionem: quas tres partes orationis omnes linguæ Orientales habent"³. He goes on to explain how the other parts of speech depend on these. His definition⁴ of the role of the linguist is most interesting and shows that Sanctius's recent fame amongst modern linguists⁵ is not undeserved.

¹Cf. §§ 7-9 below. ²As Michael (1970, 51) puts it: "Bacon, keeping close to Boethius, whom he often quotes, establishes first that there are two parts of speech (noun and verb) in logic and eight in grammar."

³1693, 12 ⁴1693, 8: "Mihi perfectus, absolutusque Grammaticus est ille, quæ in Ciceronis, vel Virgilii libris intelligit, quæ dictio sit nomen, quæ verbum, & et cætera, quæ ad solam grammaticam spectant, etiam si sensum verborum non intelligat:"

⁵Lakoff 1969, 356 ff. ; Michael 1970, 22-3.

Lastly in this connection, it must be remembered that ideas about the parts of speech similar to those of Sanctius were not unknown even later, since they can be found in some sixteenth- to eighteenth-century English grammars.¹

§ 5. In Paul's declaration of Neo-grammarian doctrine based on the idea that only through diachronic study can language be subjected to a "wissenschaftliche Betrachtung"², the traditional division into parts of speech is attacked because it "beruht nicht auf konsequent durchgeführten logischen Prinzipien...Der Versuch ein streng logisch gegliedertes System aufzustellen, ist überhaupt undurchführbar."³ Three possible criteria for a division into word-classes are given: semantic, syntagmatic and paradigmatic. He criticises all three on various grounds. However, it may be remarked that unlike what happened with the advent of structuralism, Paul does not attempt to devise new terms to be used instead of the traditional ones. This follows immediately from his statement⁴ that "Es würde aber nicht möglich sein etwas wesentlich besseres an die Stelle zu setzen, so lange man daraus ausgeht, jedes Wort in eine bestimmte Klasse unterzubringen." In his following treatment of how words switch over from one part of speech into another, there is, as far as I can see, no significant disadvantage in the use of the traditional terms. But then, it should be

¹ Cf. Michael 1970, 237-9; 262; 263; 265-6; 267; 278-9 for some that explicitly mention such a treatment.

² 1920, 20 ³ 1920, 352 ⁴ 1920, 352

remembered that on the whole the Neo-grammarians dealt only with the older Indo-European languages, most of which are very similar in this respect.

§ 6. Bloomfield was one of the most influential of structural linguists. His attitudes had been formed through the study of languages belonging to widely different typological and genetic classes leading to statements like: "The languages of the Indo-European family are peculiar in having many parts of speech; no matter upon what constructions we base our scheme, a language like English will show at least half a dozen parts of speech, such as...Most languages show a smaller number. A distribution into three types is quite frequent (Semitic, Algonquian); usually one resembles our substantives and one our verbs."¹ On his part, de Saussure had stated that "la distinction des mots en substantifs, verbes, adjectifs, etc. n'est pas une réalité linguistique indéniable."² Certain trends in more recent linguistic theory, recognise, however, as Lyons has put it: "that the traditional 'notional' theory of the 'parts of speech' merits a rather more sympathetic consideration than it has received from linguists in recent years."³ There is also one important practical point to be remembered, namely that traditional terminology will still be easier to understand and to deal with than that used by some

¹1933, 198. ²1955, 153. ³1966, 209.

schools of linguistic thought. On the other hand, it is clear that the traditional terms need redefining in more precise terms so that the linguistic level meant in the context is made sufficiently obvious. My own views on these matters will, I hope, be made evident in the section that deals with terminology¹.

The Parts of Speech in The Irish Tradition

§ 7. When we turn to the Irish tradition for ideas about the parts of speech, we find lists² of the eight parts of speech of Latin grammarians: in Latin "nomen, pronomen, uerbum, aduerbium, participium, coniunctio, prepositio, interiectio" and in Irish: "Ainm pronomen briathar 7 dobriathar, randgapal 7 comacomal, remsuidgud et intereant" and in another passage³ "ainm 7 briathar, 7 pronomen 7 doibriathar, randghabtach, 7 remshuidhiugud, comhfocul 7 interiacht". This latter passage is interesting in that it changes the order in which the parts of speech are listed. It may be a pure coincidence that noun and verb are given first but it is worthy of note in view of the three parts of speech⁴ of the Bardic grammarians. This Bergin has called "a complete break with the Latin system, and a fresh start"⁵. However, it would be difficult not

¹Cf. §§ 12-14. ²Auraic. .300-3; ³.317-21. Cf. also .2660-5 and 2667-9.

⁴"focal" 'noun', "pearsa" 'verb' and "iarmbéarla" 'particle' IGT 4.

⁵1938, 209.

to agree with Ó Cuív that "it may well go back to the time of the Auraicept which clearly owes a great deal to Isidore."¹ The similarity between the Bardic division of the parts of speech and that of Isidore had first been noticed by O'Rahilly². Before discussing the connection between the Auraicept and Isidore, one important link between Bardic teaching and the Auraicept must be noted. The full text of the passage enumerating the Bardic parts of speech is "as é Fénius Farsaidh féin tug ainm ar gach ní substainteach do-chí súil 7 ghlacus lámh, 7 Iar mac Néma ro láoi íarmbérla san nGáoidhilg, 7 Pearsonia ro chumhdaigh [pearsana] innte, gonadh ón triúr sin atá trí hearnuile na Gaoidhilgi."³ Now Fénius Farsaidh and Iar mac Néma are quite frequently mentioned in similar contexts in the Auraicept, e.g. "Ocus na ugdair na nGadheal, roba he sein Fenius Farsaigh 7 Iar na n-ilberla mac Nema"⁴.

§ 8. The Auraicept contains no specific reference to three parts of speech, but on the other hand, where the eight parts of speech are mentioned, there is always an

¹1966, 154 ²1946, 87 n.2 ³IGT 4: 'it is Fénius Farsaidh himself who put a name on every substantive thing an eye sees and a hand grasps and Iar mac Néma who fixed a particle in the Irish language and Pearsonia who enshrined verbs in it, so that it is from these three the three elements of the Irish language originate.'

⁴Auraic. .81-3: 'And the authors of the Gaels, that was Fénius Farsaidh, and Iar of the many languages, son of Néma.'

explicit connection with Latin grammar¹; also, they are not much used about Irish, although Thurneysen is not strictly accurate in stating that "Die acht lateinischen Redeteile werden zwar aufgeführt und ihre Namen ins Irische übersetzt, aber ohne Beispiele aus der irischen Sprache, also nie auf diese angewandt."² Thus one does find "Pronomen .i. ni ar son anma .i. me tu"³. However, it certainly seems true that the eight parts of speech did not form an integral part of native teaching.

§ 9. As for the threefold division itself, Adams's comparison⁴ with that of Japanese grammar is most interesting but tells us nothing about where all this came from. Bergin had stated that "it corresponds to that of Arabic grammar, which goes back to the seventh century" but he disclaims knowledge of "whether there is any direct influence"⁵. Ó Cuív⁶ prefers O'Rahilly's idea of influence from Isidore. However, as has been shown above⁷, the same idea is to be found in some of his contemporaries, the important thing about whom is that, like Isidore himself, they were most certainly known and studied in Ireland: Malsachanus was an Irishman and knew the work of Consentius and Isidore.⁸ A definitive

¹Thurneysen 1928,303; van Hamel 1946,325 ²loc.cit.

³Auraic. 2661: 'pronoun, i.e. something in place of a noun, i.e. me 'I' tu 'thou'.

⁴1970,158 ⁵1938,209 ⁶1966,152 ⁷Cf. § 3 above ⁸Cf. Löfstedt's introduction to Mals. 48-9; 50-1.

study of the origins and development of Irish grammatical thinking remains to be done: all that can be affirmed here is that there seems to be sufficient evidence from early mediaeval Latin grammars for these to have given the Irish their threefold division of the parts of speech.

§ 10. The eightfold division is seemingly not mentioned in the Irish Grammatical Tracts, but something like it (it allows for seven parts of speech) may be found in Ó hEodhasa's ms. grammar of 1634: "Partes orationis Hybernicae sunt septem, videlicet airteagal .i. articulus; ainm .i. nomen; insgne .i. pronomen; briathar nō pearsa .i. verbum; reimhbhriathar .i. adverbium; coimhe[h]leangal .i. coniunctio; iarmbēarla .i. praepositio. Veteres autem tres tantum rece[n]sent orationis partes quas vocant trī hiarnaile na gaoidhilge nimirum, focal, pearsa et iarmbēarla. Per focal intelligunt nomen, pronomen et adverbium; per pearsa, solum verbum; per iarmbēarla, praepositionem, coniunctionem et articulum."¹

This shows rather more clearly than the passage in IGT that the Bardic tradition must have put the threefold division first. Subsequent Irish grammarians like O'Molloy², Lhuyd³ and Mac Curtin⁴ make much the same

¹RGH .333-41 ²1677, 82-3 ³1707, 301 ⁴1728, 26-7

points, as does Vallancey¹, who adds adjective and interjection to the list, thus reckoning with nine parts of speech, as does Kelly², whereas Shaw³ does not count the article as a separate part of speech. These two do not seem to know of the older three-fold division, nor does O'Donovan⁴, whose influence⁵ on all subsequent grammars of Irish has been considerable. His classification⁶ runs: "There are nine classes, or divisions of words, or, as they are called, parts of speech, viz. article, noun-substantive, noun adjective, pronoun, verb, preposition, adverb, conjunction and interjection." Rather interestingly, this is somewhat less strictly based on the canonical eight parts of speech than what is found in some modern prescriptive grammars, like that of the Christian Brothers: "Is gnáchocht mór-roinn a dhéanamh ar fhocail de réir a bhfeidhme. Na príomhranna cainte a thugtar orthu".⁷ The parts listed are noun, verb, pronoun, adjective, adverb, conjunction, preposition and interjection. The article is classified as an adjective but called article⁸.

¹1782,34 ²1804,11 ³1778,11 ⁴1845 ⁵Cf. Bergin 1938,223 ff.

⁶1845,66 ⁷1960,14: 'It is usual to divide words into eight main groups according to their function. These are called the main parts of speech.'

⁸1960,15: "Tugtar an t-alt ar an aidiacht an." Cf. further Ó Searcaigh 1939,1.

§ 11. In scholarly works about Irish morphology and syntax the position seems rather different. Few explicit statements about the parts of speech are to be found, but on the whole traditional terminology is used, even where the author feels that this does not really suit the description very well, or as de Bhaldraithe puts it at the beginning of a section that deals with conjunctions, adverbs and prepositions: "Ainneoin nach bhfuil aon difríocht bhunúsach idir na trí ranna cainte seo, leantar anseo, do ghrá na héascaíocht, den rannadh a bhfuil cleachtadh air. Féachtar le gach focal, nó forá, a chur ina roinn féin, de réir na gramadaí traidisiúnta"¹. On the other hand, there are some interesting departures. Thus Sjøestedt-Jonval's reckoning² with "deux espèces de noms, substantif et adjectif" has a rather old-fashioned ring about it.

Terminology and Theory

§ 12. As mentioned previously, traditional terminology has on the whole been preferred in this work. Because of the heterogeneity of the criteria underlying some of these terms, a few definitions may prove useful.

Simple sentences are divided into main and subordinate clauses, defined as such because they contain

¹1953,175: 'Although there is no fundamental difference between these three parts of speech, the usual division is here followed for the sake of simplicity. An attempt is made to put each word or phrase into its own department, according to traditional grammar.'

²1938,15.

a predicate as one major constituent. A phrase, on the other hand, is a group of units that together function as one major constituent in a sentence without being analysable as a subordinate clause of any kind, i.e. if a predicate is included.

On the one hand syntax deals with at least one of the four major constituents of an Irish sentence in relation to each other, namely predicate¹, subject, object and adverbial. On the other it describes the potentially cyclical combination into phrases of units definable in morphological terms, i.e. verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns and adverbs and more minor units found only together with these, i.e. the article, the copula, prepositions, preverbs and enclitics.

Where the distinction is relevant, reference will be made to sentence and clause syntax on the one hand and phrase syntax on the other. In other words, when the terms "predicate", "subject", "object" and "adverbial" are used, sentence syntax is being discussed; the use of the terms "verb", "noun", "adverb" etc. implies that the syntax of phrases is meant.

¹Note that "predicate" as used here does not, as e.g. in Lyons (1968,334) refer to all parts of a sentence (i.e. verb, object etc. together) that do not form part of the subject. The only cases where the predicate will be assumed to "contain" either or both of the subject and the object, are those where pronouns may be regarded as being included, either through in- and suffixing or in synthetic verbal forms.

§ 13. To this way of looking at things one might object that the adoption of a grammar such as that advocated by Borgström¹ would remove the necessity of differentiating between sentence (and clause) syntax on the one hand and phrase syntax on the other. "The reason for this is simply that morphology would absorb most, if perhaps not all, of the phrase syntax. In Borgström's proposal the word-boundaries as written nowadays would have to be abandoned and inserted only between major syntactic constituents. On the whole, his arguments are derived from the undeniable lack ^{of freedom} (using intercalation criteria) shown by elements such as prepositions, negations, preverbs and the copula, as well as from a wish to group external and internal sandhi together as one single phenomenon. According to this, we should be dealing with "a (mildly) polysynthetic language"², where the simple prepositions are re-labelled case-prefixes, the combination of noun and adjective is regarded as a compound and preverbs form part of the verb itself. Theoretically speaking, I have no very serious objections to Borgström's proposal as one of many possible ways of looking at Irish grammar. In fact, it would seem that a very similar approach dictated the way Old and Middle Irish were written³. Also, it is not at all impossible that similar

¹1968, 12-21. ²art.cit. 20. ³Gramm. § 34.

ideas underlie the nominal paradigms in the Auraicept na nÉces¹ where, as Bergin puts it, "The author or redactor tries to distinguish seventeen cases of nouns, giving a special name to each occurrence of the dative or accusative form according to the prepositions that precede it."²

§ 14. On the other hand, although a grammar of this sort certainly seems feasible, it is not yet certain that it actually would simplify the description of Irish. What is certain is that it would entail serious changes to many doctrines found in existing handbooks. Also, if one wished to be really consistent within such a framework, one would have to insist on most twentieth-century diplomatic editions of Old and Middle Irish texts being given the word-divisions found in the original manuscripts. The revisions necessary in modern texts would of course be even more serious. In addition to all this, it may be noted that in view of the theories put forward on the subject of word-division by Chomsky and Halle³, it is not altogether impossible that the whole question of word-boundaries may be of somewhat lesser importance in linguistic theory than has been thought hitherto. For practical purposes, the issue can be avoided here by stating that where it is not used in a loose general

¹Cf. Auraic. 1517-1529; 1651-1663; 1770-1804; 1831-1845; 1860-1866 and 1880-1892 and my forthcoming 1974.

²1938, 207. ³1968.12-14; 163 and especially 367-370.

sense, the term "word" refers to entities that are written as one word by Thurneysen¹ or (for the modern period) as such in the standard dictionaries of Dinneen and Dwelly.

The Adverb in General

§15. In ancient tradition the adverb is at first either derived from nouns or verbs²; Antipater (second century B.C.) would seem to have been the first to have recognised as a separate part of speech: he called it μετόχης. Later the term πανδέκτης is found³. The term used today is of Alexandrian origin: the Greek word is ἐπίρρημα and Dionysius Thrax's definition is as follows: "Ἐπίρρημά ἐστι μέρος λόγου ἄκλιτον, κατὰ ἑήματος λεγόμενον ἢ ἐπιλεγόμενον ῥήματι."⁴ With certain modifications this is still valid in traditional grammar today. The Latin term "adverbium" is a direct translation of the Greek and Latin grammars like those of Donatus⁵ and Priscian⁶ follow Dionysius fairly closely⁷.

One interesting point about the ancient conception of adverbs is that, apparently, adverbs were defined

¹Gramm. § 34 ²Steinthal 1890, 298; 1891, 212. ³loc.cit.

⁴Dion. Thrax 72.4-5 ⁵Donat. 363.15-6: "Adverbium quid est? Pars orationis, quae adiecta verbo significationem eius explanat agens inplet."

⁶Prisc. Inst. II, 60.2-3: "Adverbium est pars orationis indeclinabilis, cuius significatio verbis adicitur."

⁷Cf. Pinkster 1972, 35-43 for a more detailed discussion of adverbs in Roman grammatical theory.

only as qualifiers of verbs, not of adjectives and other adverbs. However, as Lyons¹ remarks, the ancient definition "depended, implicitly, upon the earlier and wider senses of verb."

§ 16. In the fifteenth century, adjectives and other adverbs were explicitly added to the list of what adverbs qualify². With that we reach as good a definition as circumstances permit, bearing in mind that the adverb is sometimes considered as some sort of rag-bag of elements unclassifiable in any other way, but of very different functions and origins. This conception was well known in ancient times³, whereas the position of modern linguistics may be summed up in Lyons's words: "In traditional grammar, adverbs constitute a very heterogeneous class; and it is doubtful whether any general theory of syntax would bring together as member of the same syntactic class all the forms that are traditionally described as adverbs."⁴ Finally, it must be mentioned that after a period of apparent neglect, even more recent trends in linguistics have taken a considerable amount of interest in adverbs, mostly in connection with attempts to relate logical structures to linguistic ones⁵.

¹1968,326 ²Michael 1970,74 ³Steinthal 1891,213

⁴1968,326 ⁵See e.g. Bartsch 1972 or Stalnaker and Thomason 1973.

Adverbs in Indo-European

§ 17. In Indo-European linguistics the discussion about adverbs has mainly been concerned about their origins. One theory that has been put forward is that the earliest strata of Indo-European had no adverbs and that, accordingly, all forms that are later known as adverbs can be derived from petrified case-forms of various kinds¹. Indeed the present material from Irish illustrates such a process rather well, showing as it does how very few inherited adverbs there are in Irish. On the other hand, not all Indo-European adverbs can be explained in this way, though it is quite possible that future study may yet show an increasing number of these to be derived from what in a yet earlier stage of the language may have been non-adverbial forms of some kind.² In any case, there certainly cannot be objections to stating that a language need not have such a part of speech³.

§ 18. One particular point that scholars have discussed a great deal concerns the relationship between prepositions and adverbs. The most commonly held view is still that of Brugmann⁴ amongst others. He derives prepositions

¹Delbrück 1893, 538. ²On the other hand, it is hard to see what else than an adverb a bare stem like nt (IEW 770) ever could have been, unless of course this is yet another manifestation of Watkins's (1966, 111-2) "indefinite case form with zero ending."

³Cf. § 3 above. ⁴1911, 758.

from original adverbs that have come to stand "in einer besonders nahen Beziehung entweder zu einem Verbum...oder zu einem Kasus oder Adverbium in der Weise, dass diese als von ihm abhängig erscheinen". This Kurylowicz more recently has^{put} in a more precise way: "The fact that the in the I.E. languages many an indeclinable may function both as preverb and as preposition has been a sufficient reason for attributing to them an adverbial origin. Such an assumption fully accounts for their subsequent functional bifurcation."¹ After "univerbation" has taken place, new adverbs are often formed with forms related to those of the old ones, which now are preverbs.² An adverb becomes a preposition in three stages³. In the first the whole phrase (preposition and noun) determines the predicate "the preposition representing either a reinforcement or a specification of the ending of the noun." In the second stage "the ending of the case-form functions as a determinant of the preposition" and in the third "the case-ending becomes a redundant feature entailed by the preposition." The crucial shift is that from stage 1 to stage 2. Thus far Kurylowicz. More recent work on Indo-European has not challenged this view. Dressler, for instance, states: "Die idg. Grundsprache kannte wohl kaum richtiggehende

¹1964,171. ²1964,172. ³1964,176.

Präpositionen oder Postpositionen, wohl aber Adverbia, die die Bedeutung von Kasusformen modifizieren konnten."¹

§ 19. About de-adjectival adverbs Hoffmann states that the Indo-European "Grundsprache" had no "lebendigen Adverbialbildungen aus Adjektiven"²; unfortunately he does not state whether he means that a previous stage of the language had known living forms of this sort. Even if that is the intention, it would seem more likely that Brugmann was correct in attributing a nominal origin to all of these³. This might probably be supported by the rather rapid way in which one way of forming them changes to another, not only in Irish, but also in Latin and Romance⁴. In the latter the formation in -ment(e) of undeniably nominal origin is well worth noting, as is finally the situation in Modern German, where adjectives used "predicatively", i.e. with the verb sein and those used "adverbially", i.e. with any other verb, fell together completely, so that in the modern language there is no longer any linguistic reason for keeping the two separate⁵.

¹1971,91. ²1952,47: ³1911,671: "Sowohl Kasus von Substantiva als auch Kasus von Adjektiva erscheinen als Adverbia. Im Grunde handelt es sich aber auch beim Adjektiv meistens um substantivische Natur des Wortes."

⁴Löffstedt, 1967, 108: "Es wurde eingangs bemerkt, dass das Adverbium eine Wortart ist, die sich oft erneuert. Wir haben gesehen, wie im Lateinischen verschiedene Adverbendungen und adverbiale Konstruktionen miteinander konkurrieren, bis im Rom. ein neues Suffix die Oberhand gewinnt."

⁵Steinitz 1959, 103: "Es ist nicht mehr zu ignorieren, dass die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart die formelle Trennung des Adj. in zwei verschiedene syntaktische Kategorien mit Hilfe des Verbs 'sein' aufgegeben hat."

Adverbs in Irish linguistics

§ 20. If one took Irish linguistics to include the study of Latin by Irishmen, one would find the term referring to adverbs understood and used by the writers of glosses in the Milan and St.Gall codices¹. Here it will be enough to comment on the term itself. It is a thoroughly artificial formation², a calque on the Latin word: "aduerbium" = "dobríathar". Interestingly, the last time it seems to be found used in Irish before the most recent period is in the Auraicept³. Here it is given as the Irish translation of the Latin term in lists of the parts of speech. On the other hand there seems to be no instance where it is used to describe any element in Irish itself. Thus it is likely that the term and perhaps even the concept was not really used by the early native grammarians about their own language.

In the Bardic tracts on language there are some references to what we would call adverbs, notably the on the face of it rather puzzling "ní .c. moladh ar oibriughadh achd an mhéd chantar dhe"⁴.

¹Cf. DRIA D 217.8-18 for reff. ²Gramm. 506; Ó Guív 1966, 157.
³Auraic. .300;.2668. ⁴Bard. Synt. Tr. § 226.27: "an adjective is not correct with a verbal noun, except insofar as it is spoken of". This is discussed in more detail later in the text: cf. § 142 below.

§ 21. As we have seen¹, Ó hEodhasa was familiar with the Latin division of the parts of speech and thus also with the concept of adverbs, which he defines as follows: "Adverbium quod vocatur reimbriathar est pars orationis modificans et explanans significationem verbi et nonnunquam etiam nominis, ut buail go láidir, atā calma go lór"². The main thing to note here is that instead of dobríathar the term reimbriathar is used. This may be the first recorded instance of the word being used³. After this he goes on to state: "Quaedam enim significant interrogationem, ut an amhlaidh, an eadh, caidhe, cáit etc."⁴ and so on; the classification is on the whole semantically based, but he also makes some observations⁵ about morphology, notably distinguishing compound from simple adverbs, stating⁶ the rule for forming adverbs out of adjectives and finally some degrees of comparison: "positivus gu maith, augmentativus go romaith, comparativus feairde, mōide etc. qui brāthair iomarbhādha vocatur; superlativus, ut as roifheirde, romhōide etc."⁷ This is of course not entirely satisfying,

¹§ 10 above. ²RGH .1783; the examples mean 'strike hard' and 'he is brave enough'.

³There seems to be no mention of it in DRIA.

⁴RGH .1786-7; the examples mean 'is that so'; 'is it?'; 'what, where'; 'where'.

⁵RGH .1813 ff. ⁶RGH .1818, cf. .608-12 and .4080-1.

⁷RGH .1830-3; the examples mean 'well'; 'too well'; 'better', 'the more'; 'that is too best' or perhaps rather 'that is very best'.

but on the whole the exposition is fairly clear and the material reasonably exhaustive. One senses the Bardic training that Ó hEodhasa probably¹ had received. Early printed grammars of Irish are neither as clear nor at all as exhaustive, but essentially their position is quite similar.

§ 22. The first of these is based on Ó hEodhasa's, as Egan has shown². However, O'Molloy's use of terminology is much more confused. Thus in one chapter³ he uses the term "articulus" to denote all proclitics, giving amongst other cases examples of articles being prefixed to form adverbs⁴. In this passage "aduerbium" is used in the same sense as one might today, but when discussing metrics he uses the term as a translation for Irish iarmbéarla 'proclitic'⁵. Moreover, in the passage dealing with the parts of speech one finds that "aduerbium" is translated as "reimbhriathar" and "pronomen" then as "iarmbheurla"⁶.

¹Cf. Ó Cuív 1956,100; 1966,159. ²1956,429 ff.

³1677,100-7 = ch. 11. ⁴1677,106-7: "Alij artículi inferuiunt aduerbijs, vt go, cum dico, go maith, go hola, id est bené, malé. Similiter a, cum dico a ne, a niodh, latine heri, hodie, item a noir, a niar; illi autem dicuntur temporales; hi vero locales, eò quod hi locum connotant, isti vero tēpus." The untranslated items mean 'from the East' and 'from the West'.

⁵1677,150 and 154-5. ⁶1677,83.

Mac Curtin explains the "Article" as "a word, which by itself signifieth nothing, yet placed before another word, doth determine its signification.

There are several kinds of articles, some are Nominals, some verbals, some Adverbials, some Pronominals and some Interrogatives."¹ The adverbial "articles" given are go and a: the former "when before an Adjective, makes it an Adverb, as go maith well...", whereas "Adverbs of time and place have alwayes the Article a annexed to them;"². The classification is neither complete nor entirely accurate: note for instance that there are adverbs of time and place formed otherwise than with a prefix a and that this itself in the examples given represents forms of diverse origins. In spite of this, this is much better than O'Molloy's treatment of the same material. In a later section, where adverbs are given their (in contemporary sources) usual term of réimhbhriathar, he states: "An adverb is a part of speech, modifying and explaining the signification of the Verb, and sometimes of the Noun, as buail go láidir, strike strongly, láitir go lór, strong enough"³. Like in Ó hEodhasa's grammar it is clear that in the latter case adjectives ("nouns adjective") are meant. Again, the main classification is a semantic one, but he also observes that "the figure of Adverbs is either simple,

¹1728,27 ²1728,29 ³1728,74

as go maith, well; or compound, as ró-mhaith, full well."¹
 On the question of syntax, or "government", as he calls it, Mac Curtin confines himself to phrase syntax only giving a hint that adverbials may qualify verbs, but no examples². Donlevy³ deals only with phonology, but Vallancey gives a fairly long list of adverbs, of which he has a rather original definition: "Adverbs are added to nouns and adjectives to denote some circumstance of the action or quality."⁴ Thus adverbs of "Quality" like "go honórach honourably; go calma valiantly, &c."⁵ are distinguished from those of "Quantity" like "go beag, little; go mór greatly; go lór enough"⁶. On the other hand the class of affirmatives includes amongst others expressions like "go raibh mar sin, so be it; aseadh, Yes it is so;"⁷. His chapter on "Syntaxis"⁸ makes no mention of adverbs.

¹1728,75. ²1728,86: "As to the government of Adverbs, some do govern a Gen. Case, as seachnóin, ar fud, ar fad, a bhfochair, deis, tar éis, andiaigh, &c. Whether they signifie time or place; others require a Dative or Ablative Case, not truly govern'd by them, but by a Preposition, as maraon, maille, mar aon le Séadhan; maille le honóir. Others do indifferently require either a Nom. or Accusat. Case, as agsom bean, agsom mnaoi, & the rest of the Adverbs do commonly govern no case." The examples mean: 'throughout'; 'throughout'; 'altogether'; 'in presence of'; 'on the right of'; 'after'; 'after'; 'along'; 'together'; 'along with S.'; 'together with honour'; 'here is (viz. French voici) a woman'; 'here is a woman'.

³1742. ⁴1773, 42ff. ⁵1773,44. ⁶ibid. ⁷1773,42.

⁸1773,116-119.

Shaw contributes a list of adverbs, which includes prefixes like "Neamh, best orthographed neo, a negative particle, compounded with nouns."¹ Dealing with "composition" he states: "As all primitive, so all compounded adjectives and participles, are used adverbially, by prefixing the syllable go; thus impoichte, converted; neo-impoichte, unconverted; go neo-impoichte..."².

Dealing with Manx, Kelly on his part attempts a classification of adverbs not unlike that of Vallancey, including as the fifteenth and last class "Adverbs of Quality" which "are made of adjectives and participles, by putting the preposition dy, of, before them; as Dy mie well. Dy olk badly..."³.

§ 23. In the nineteenth century more Irish⁴ and Scottish Gaelic grammars appeared. On the whole the conception of adverbs has not changed much to our days in Irish grammars, from the days such works began to be printed. The most interesting feature here concerns terminology: for some reason the term reimhbhriathar has now been abandoned and the word found in the glosses and in the Auraicept reintroduced as the standard term in Modern⁵ Irish. The reasons for this are unclear to me⁶.

¹1778,80. ²1778,101. ³1804,58-62. ⁴Cf. Best 1913,45-7.

⁵Dinneen records both words, but de Bhaldraithe's normative dictionary (1959, s.v. adverb) gives only the artificial dobhriathar, as in grammars: cf. Ó Searcaigh 1939,252; Ó Cadhlaigh 1940,352; Christian Brothers 1960,273. In Scottish Gaelic the older term is preferred: Dwelly has roimh-bhriathar and the neologism (?) ceann-bhriathar.

⁶In Keating dobhriathar has the natural meaning 'bad, evil word', as one might expect. (TSh. .5520)

Scope of this Work

§ 24. A crucial definition is that of what an "adverb" is. As the rapid survey in the preceding part has tried to show, many definitions have been offered, few of which can be called altogether satisfactory for the particular language being described; it is probable that none is adequate from the point of view of language universals. Thus it is not surprising that no attempt is made here to offer any universal definition of adverbs that would hold good for all languages: what I can offer is simply a statement of what I propose to deal with in the following pages."

First of all, in the section on morphology a survey will be given of the origins (derivational and otherwise) of elements that can occur as the major constituent "adverbial" in a sentence. There is, however, one important exception, namely that productive prepositional will not be treated, nor will the origin of prepositions; on the other hand I have tried to include a representative selection of prepositional phrases where they represent a formation that is no longer productive and therefore does not fit the normal pattern of prepositional phrases in that stage of the language. In this respect I have adopted Paul's¹

¹1920, 366: "Die A d v e r b i a sind, soweit wir ihren Ursprung erkennen können, fast durchweg aus erstarrten Kasus von Nominibus hervorgegangen, teilweise aus der Verbindung einer Präposition mit einem Kasus."

definition of an adverb.

§ 25. In the section on sentence syntax, on the other hand, all adverbial phrases have been treated on a fairly equal footing: here it would obviously be unreasonable to distinguish between adverbs and prepositional phrases, since attention is being focused on how adverbials behave in respect to other major constituents in a simple sentence, not on their internal structure. In this part, complex sentences have not been dealt with as such, just as conjunctions were not included in the section on morphology. However, one type of complex sentence has been included, namely that where an adverbial has been broken out of a simple sentence for emphasis and placed before the main verb with or without the copula. I am aware that there might be certain objections¹ to this way of dealing with my material, but I believe that limitations of this kind had to be imposed if the boundaries set by the main topic were not to be exceeded.

Finally, it may be useful to repeat here and elaborate on the definition already given² of adverbs and adverbials for the purpose of this work. The latter are one of four possible major constituents in an Irish

¹Cf. de Bhaldraithe 1953, 175 quoted in § 11 above.

²In § 12 above.

sentence, that is, a constituent that occurs at the same level as predicates¹, subjects and objects. Adverbs, on the other hand, belong to one of the classes of units that may be defined in morphological terms², such as verbs, nouns etc. The distinction is of course not always explicitly important, but should be noted not only in keeping prepositional phrases and adverbs proper apart, but also in distinguishing the major constituent of adverbial within a sentence from the constituent of adverb within a phrase, i.e. where the adverb does not qualify a predicate.

Sources

§ 26. Although there ^{are} many articles and parts of larger works that deal with various aspects of Irish adverbial formation and usage, there is no study that attempts to deal with this as a whole³. Thus the present work represents something to a certain extent so unprecedented in Irish studies that it seems that it would not be very useful to provide a full "Forschungslage"⁴ that would deal with all previous scholarly work on the subject. Instead, where previous work has a bearing on a particular issue under discussion in the main body of the text, it will be referred to⁵.

¹As defined in § 12 above. ²I.e. inflectional and derivational.

³As Pinkster 1972 does for Latin. ⁴This Meid 1963, 10-52 has done rather usefully in his study of Old Irish conjunct and absolute verbal flexion.

⁵Such items are listed in the bibliography, § 179 below.

§ 27. As far as the language-material used as a basis for this study is concerned, the scope is very large, namely from the earliest recorded Old Irish to the present-day dialects of Gaelic Scotland and Ireland¹. In practice, however, it has of course not been possible to survey more than a small proportion of all the material that would have been available: certain limitations had to be imposed. Now, there are various ways of dealing with this problem. One way would be to do what Gagnepain did in his study² ~~in his study~~ of the syntax of the verbal noun, i.e. to select representative texts and excerpt them very fully, noting each example as it occurs and making a systematic classification of the material thus obtained. This has the real advantage that the grammar may be expected to be reasonably coherent within a given text and the rules arrived at thus not too lacking in consistency. On the other hand, one is open to the risk of losing interesting items; especially where morphology is concerned, it happens not infrequently that fairly crucial forms are found in texts which it would have been quite pointless to excerpt otherwise³. It is this consideration that has led me to

¹Note that by Irish I mean the Goidelic language of Ireland, by Scottish Gaelic that of Scotland and by Manx the dialect that was spoken in the Isle of Man; Goidelic is used as a cover-term for all of these.

²Cf. 1968, 4. ³It is of course significant that Gagnepain's study is mainly concerned with syntax.

seek out my material wherever it occurs, mainly with the help of dictionaries¹ and glossaries to texts² or (for the modern dialects) to dialect monographs; these latter give fairly extensive but by no means exhaustive coverage to the whole present-day speech-area from Ring in the South-East to Ness in the North.

§ 28. With a few exceptions, I have not made much use of normative grammars of Modern Irish, nor of published twentieth-century literature. In the first case, the reason is simply that I have to confess to certain doubts as to their reliability as mirrors of the grammar of spoken native Irish³; in the second, the reason is that the necessary dictionaries are not yet available. Very few such texts have glossaries that give adequate references. Also, it seemed more worth-while to use the breadth of material available in dialect monographs than to excerpt a few selected modern authors fully; I can only hope that my choice was the right one.

§ 29. Finally, a few words need to be said about typographical matters. First of all, most quotations from Irish are given (with a translation) exactly as in the sources referred to, with the exception that

¹Such as DEIA and to a lesser extent Dinneen, Dwelly and de Bhaldraithe 1959.

²Such as those belonging to the Med. and Mod. Ser.

³This is ^{not} detracting from their value as tools for learning the language.

editorial italics have been ignored, except for such cases where they are immediately relevant to the matter under discussion. Also, texts printed in the "Gaelic" type have for obvious practical reasons been given in the same type as the others. In all other matters, including that of word-boundaries, I have followed the individual editors.

PART II. MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

§ 30. The morphology of Irish adverbs reflects the diversity in origins of this part of speech rather well. This is of course not a special feature of Irish: most languages have varieties of ways of forming adverbs¹.

Perhaps the easiest formation to deal with is that which gives adverbs from adjectives, either with the use of a special ending, like English bad-ly, Greek μεγάλως, Latin superbe, French vrai-ment or (to take a non-Indo-European language) Finnish kauhea-sti 'terribly', or else by just using the basic form of the adjective, as in German wunderbar or sub-standard English he got it bad (or certain cases in normal English, e.g. he travels fast). A form belonging to the declensional paradigm of the adjective may be used, (often of the neuter gender, if the language has a gender distinction) as in Swedish faktiskt 'really' with the ending -t of the neuter or Greek λαμπρόστα where the plural is found.

In some languages that have a special form in the positive, some of the compared forms may take a case-ending, as in Latin superbus, but superbissime with the special adverbial ending. English is slightly different in this respect: compared de-adjectival adverbs have the same form as the corresponding

¹ Brugmann & Delbrück 1911, 667-758 give a survey for the Indo-European family of languages.

adjectives (better, best), except of course when more and most are used. In Finnish, on the other hand, one finds that whereas the positive has the special ending referred to, to compared forms combine a stem affix (comparative -mpä^(c) and superlative -impä^(c)) with the instructive plural "case-ending" (-in). Thus we get forms such as kauheammin 'more terribly' from kauheampi 'more terrible' and 'kauheimmin 'most terribly' from kauhein 'most terrible'.

§ 31. A formation often found, especially in those languages that have a less well developed case system, employs a particle (most often a preposition) with nouns and adjectives to form expressions, which, if they become petrified enough, may be classified as adverbs and indeed fused into single words, as English a-broad. Also, they may preserve older syntactic patterns, as does Swedish till sjöss 'at sea' in which the preposition till 'to' still governs the genitive.

In some Indo-European languages, adverbs of time and place preserve very old formations that have no visible endings, such as *nū 'now' and *pro 'before'¹. These have a tendency to become particles of a more bound type, but *nū in any case survives in many languages as an independent adverb, although probably not in Irish, interestingly enough².

¹Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 739. ²It has been identified by some with the preverb no: cf. IEW 770 and § 34 below.

In Indo-European, at least, adverbs are formed from all word-classes, not all of which occur as often as others: "Am stärksten sind die Pronomina beteiligt, am wenigsten die Verba."¹

§ 32. In many languages deictic adverbs, i.e. ones of time or place with meanings like 'then', 'there' etc. are formed from pronominal stems. The origin of pronouns like Latin tunc, Greek τῇδε, Swedish där 'there' etc. is to be seen in the same root that gave inter alia the Greek definite article (except for ὁ and ἡ). On the other hand, similar adverbs in Irish, when derived from pronouns, are mostly later formations, with original meanings like 'in it' developing to 'here', 'there' etc. Interestingly enough, Finnish has a transparent system of postpositions (labelled "case-endings in most grammars) added to what still functions as the demonstrative. Thus tuo-lla can also mean 'on that', not only 'there'.

§ 33. One interesting feature of Irish adverbs that may be mentioned here, since it occurs in some otherwise rather different formations², is that of initial lenition. As Pedersen describes³, this development is not⁴ yet present in the Würzburg

¹Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 739 ²Cf. §§ 64, 85 and 99.

³Ped. I, 457 ⁴Note the cases mentioned in § 99.

glosses, but becomes increasingly frequent as the language develops. Most interestingly, this has apparently nothing to do with a preceding word ending in a vowel or such a word having disappeared leaving a lenited initial. On the other hand, as Pedersen mentions¹, some cross-over may be possible.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the Brittonic languages², but in view of the innovatory nature of it, it is hard to see how there could be a common origin in both cases, though similar processes may have been involved.

¹Ped., I, 457. ²Ped. I, 461-2.

1. Simple Adverbs

Indo-European Simple Adverbs

§ 34. True simple adverbs inherited from Indo-European are rare in Irish, partly because of the fact noted by Meillet¹ that "les adverbes de cette sorte sont nombreux dans chaque langue, mais peu se retrouvent identiques dans plusieurs et peuvent être attribuées à l'indo-européen." In case of those preverbs, however, which originated from Indo-European adverbs, as ro- from Indo-European *pro², ad- etc., it should be noted that their inseparability from the verb and inclusion in its stress-pattern make it more desirable to label them as verbal particles rather than adverbs, although it is of course true that they perform one of the functions of adverbs, namely that of qualifying verbs.

§ 35. The original adverbial or appositional nature of IE prepositions survives amongst others in Latin and Greek, as in Il. 5,632 τὸν καὶ Τληπόλεμος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν quoted by Meillet, who for a reason not known to me includes Celtic in the groups of languages

¹1934,192. ²Cf. Gramm. 347; in Irish grammars the interesting particle no- is usually described as being devoid of meaning. Its origin is described by Pokorny (IEW,757) as "ursprünglich formelhaft vorgesetztes 'oder nicht?'" rather than from the root (IEW,770) that gave English now, Greek νῦν, Swedish nu etc., as Vendryes (Lex. N,18) would have it, probably with somewhat better justification.

which "ont conservé de nombreux restes de cette indépendance";¹ it is not a feature of Irish, where prepositions are used "A. In close composition, i.e. in all nominal compounds and in verbal compounds under or after the stress. B. Pretonic, as the first element of a deuterotonic verb... C. Pretonic, before a dependent case. D. before a suffixed personal pronoun."²

§ 36. The word etir, itir 'at all' ^{which} is listed among Zeuss's "adverbia primitiva vel obscurioris originis"³ is a conjugated preposition, which like and 'in it' and others has gained the force of an adverb. As with other prepositions, there is some interchange between the forms without a pronoun and the conjugated ones⁴. Scottish Gaelic and Northern Irish have preserved the distinction between the conjugated preposition used adverbially (idir) and that without a pronoun (eadar)⁵. In Munster and Connaught Irish idir is used in both cases.

§ 37. The phrase co nómad nōe 'to the ninth generation'⁶ from him on' or 'from that on' quoted by Thurneysen in the form n-áu⁷ may contain the "primary form of the

¹1934, 193 cf. also Ernout and Thomas 1951, 9; Kühner and Gerth 1898, 526 and Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 758.

²Gramm. 495. ³1871, 613 ⁴Gramm. 511 and O'Rahilly 1932, 226.

⁵O'Brien 1956, 176; Oftedal 1956, 334, 338 and Dwelly s.vv.

⁶Thurneysen, ed. 1911, 85 § 38; O'Dav. § 547.

⁷Gramm. 524: as in LL 37589.

preposition" here "possibly retained as an adverb", but this is by no means certain¹. The origin of the preposition itself (ó, úa 'from') is disputed. Thurneysen,² Pokorny³ and Ernout & Meillet⁴ hold that it is from the same root as Latin au- etc., while Pedersen⁵ mentions a possible but "zweifelhaft" connection with Welsh o 'from', Cornish and Breton a, Sanskrit ā and Latin a, ab abs. Finally, Schmidt⁶ takes it from Indo-European *apo with loss of p in Celtic.

There seem to be instances where iar 'after' is seemingly used on its own as an adverb⁷, but since they are late, it would be difficult to prove that they are survivals of Indo-European usage.

¹ Thus Stokes translates (O'Dav. § 547) 'to the ninth descendant'; Meyer (1915, 351; Misc. Hib. and Wortk. § 166) proposes 'to the ninth times ninth' which Pokorny (1919, 41) accepts, whereas before the one mentioned in the text, Thurneysen had proposed two different explanations: firstly (1917, 104.3-4 on co nómad nōe in 85.6) that one should translate "'bis zum neunten Glied' (eigentlich 'Menschen')"; secondly (1923, 4) that it should be taken as a genitive of noí 'nine' and the phrase should be translated as 'der Neunte von Neunen'. Lastly, (this is obviously what Stokes's translation might suggest) O'Brien has proposed (1923, 320) that the correct reading is n-áu from tae, later ó, úa = 'Grandson, descendant', deriving support for this view from Modern Irish sentences like "tá siad ar a dá ó = 'they are second cousins' and "tá siad in ó amháin = 'they are first cousins'."

² Gramm. 524. ³ IEW 72. ⁴ 1951, 3. ⁵ Ped. I, 438. ⁶ 1957, 108.

⁷ Ó Bruad. II, 120.5: aithneas iar nár chéim crithre 'then she learned 'twas hard to find' Cf. II, 144.18. On the other hand, one should perhaps not discount that SC².615 ós 'aloft' represents older usage, though scribal error is possible. Cf. DRIA N-O-P 162.69-76 and § 90 below.

Other simple adverbs

§ 38. The earliest example of an adverb-type word in our records of Irish is Ogam KOI, which occurs nine times¹. It is always used after a noun as in CORBI KOI MAQI LABRID [..., with a meaning like 'present' or 'this here'. It could be seen as an adverb qualifying a subsumed verb in the clause (= 'is, is buried, iacet' etc.) or as Mac Neill² put it: "the word seems to be adverbial, and the most suitable meaning, to my mind, is 'here' or 'thus'...I can suggest no etymological resemblance except to the particle ce in the frequent poetical locutions for bith che, in domun ce etc." Macalister interprets it thus: "This word appears to be an enclitic demonstrative particle. It may point to the stone ("This [is the monument] of X"); but it is more likely that the sense is less trivial, and there is a real distinction in significance between X KOI MAQI etc. X MAQI etc. - perhaps analogous to the distinction between "X the descendant" (i.e. family head of all the descendants) and "X a descendant" (one of the descendants, with no special pre-eminence among them). KOI is rarely used except with this formula; but it once appears with NETA. One case (38) which gives X KOI MAQI Y (without MUCOI), is quite abnormal."³This is most interesting, but on the whole it is perhaps safest to agree with MacWhite⁴

¹CIIC, nrs. 22;26;34;98;120;156;163 and 38 quoted here.

²1909,344. ³CIIC, p. xi. ⁴1961,296.

that "As to the meaning of these formulae there is little to add to MacNeill's analysis of 1909".¹

§ 39. Marstrander states² that it corresponds to the Old Irish cé in the same way as Greek $\pi\omicron\tilde{\iota}$ to $\pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$, i.e. through ablaut. There may also exist a Gaulish KOVI. This could be connected with Ogamic KOI, as does IEW Pokorny³, following Loth⁴ and Dottin⁵. On the other hand, Rhys⁶ explains that it is a Celtic equivalent of Latin -qua. While providing a full bibliography, Ellis Evans* gives no judgment himself on this question, instead mentioning the further possibility that "It may, however, be the end of a form which commenced the preceding line".

§ 40. The identification of KOI with Old Irish cé and the Indo-European stem ko-, ke- is of course subject to the correctness of the view⁷ that the "forfid" (i.e. supplementary letter) representing the first element of the word should be transcribed as K. In the Auraicept na nÉces⁸ this symbol is given the transcription "ea; ee(aa)" and once also used as the last letter of a word transcribed ".i. uinge" ('ounce'). Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to accept the value K, mainly because of two inscriptions where the sign is used

¹1961,296. ²1911,144. ³IEW 609. ⁴1918,38-42. ⁵1920,152; 248.

⁶1911,270. ⁷GLIC, p. vii; ix. ⁸Auraic. .1138;1141; 1143 and 5508.

*1967,370.

in words other than KOI.

§ 41. Old Irish cé is used adjectivally after nouns as in FM II, 530 fon mbith cé 'throughout the world' and Thes. II, 332.3 sech nī ciūir nī cossēna 'ind nóeb díbad bethad cé 'the holy one neither bought nor sought the profit of the present life'. The syntax is not thus dissimilar from of co nómad n-áu quoted above¹, if both really are adverbs. There may be some kind of correspondence with the second element of Gaulish duci 'and'². On the other hand the similarity between the Ogam word and a particle koi, koi, konθi, konii noted by Pokorny³ that is used in a similar way in Iberian and Lemnian non-Indo-European inscriptions is surely a mere coincidence. The relation between cé and cen 'without' (originally 'on this side of' is noted by Thurneysen⁴ and Pedersen⁵ who states that cé "Kann ein als Augens verwendetes Adverbium sein". Note in this connection Greene's tentative suggestion⁶ that there is a relationship between cía 'though' and "Ogam CI and thus ultimately with cen...".

§ 42. The Old Irish adjectival usage of cé is also found in the later language, as in DDána 95.8 (§ 31,4) an chruinne ché 'the present world'. Note that *most* words cé occurs with mean things like 'world' or 'earth'.

¹§ 37. ²Thurneysen 1927^a, 287. ³1947, 82. ⁴Gramm. 501.

⁵Ped. II, 197 ⁶1971, 93.

Hence it is perhaps not very surprising that, in the later language, it should have developed into a noun of its own, as in Ó Bruad. II, 240. y ó táid éigse an ché na gcadladh 'for the poets of the world lie sleeping', cf. III, 58.13 an cé corrshlightheach ceosa 'this devious dark world'. Both Dinneen and Dwelly record it as an indeclinable adjective and as a noun. On the other hand, it seems not to have survived into the modern dialects, unless one accepts Borgström's suggestion¹ that the Bernera expression cé dhomh 'give me' is "probably = O.Ir. cé 'here, this'". It is also found in Leurboast². Dwelly spells this as c'e and derives it from co, cia 'who' and e 'him', 'it'.

§ 43. In Zeuss's list of "adverbia primitiva"³ only ceta, cetu 'first'⁴, which from the point of view of Irish is more a preverb than an adverb, and beos 'yet' which seems to be some sort of denominal formation⁵ are not compounds. That is, if one does not accept Pokorny's suggestion⁶ that amein 'thus' is ultimately from Hebrew āmēn through Greek ἀμήν and Latin amen, against Vendryes's opinion that "peut-être est-il plus simple d'imaginer une syllabe

¹1940, 29. ²Oftedal 1956, 60. ³1871, 613. ⁴Cf. IEW 613.

⁵Ped. I, 271. ⁶1931, 176.

exclamative am- dont tous ces mots en question auraient été tirés: cf. lat. hem ou ehem."¹ According to Pokorny, on the other hand, these would seem to be "meist unabhängige Neubildungen"².

§ 44. The emphasizing particle ám or éim can be classified as a simple adverb and is by Vendryes³ connected to the series amae, amai 'indeed' and especially amin etc. Pedersen⁴ states that the second part of these is pronominal. Thurneysen⁵ connects ám in ám thám 'a moving to and fro' to agid 'drives'. Against this, Vendryes⁶ maintains that "la graphie aimh thaimh qu'on lit TBC 5612 (non dans LL) exclut pour ám l'hypothèse d'un prototype *ag-men- ou *ag-smen-". In any case, the prefix in thám is to-, just as in the phrase for aig thaig 'to and fro' in SR 2631⁷. These phrases rather remind one of French slang ones of the type boum et reboum 'bang and bang again'. As Cecilie O'Rahilly has pointed out recently⁸, it is interesting to note that this riming combination, where "the second element varies in its initial" has in Modern Irish been replaced by a different type, which has "similarity of consonant and change of internal vowel", as in cíoram cáram 'commotion, confusion'.

¹Lex. A,66. ²IEW 293. ³Lex. A,64-5. ⁴Ped. II,151;188.

⁵Gramm. 79. ⁶Lex. A,64-5. ⁷Cf. Dillon, 1962,161.

⁸1973,5-6.

§ 45. Moch 'early' occurs as an adverb, inter alia as a gloss on Latin mane in Ml. 21^d6, but is in Old Irish and onwards to the present day of course really an adjective that is sometimes used adverbially, just like any other adjective as in Lat.Lives 25 dolotar... co mmoch don tiprait 'they went early to the well'. This word may be a borrowing from the Welsh¹. On the other hand the regular Irish development² of the same word is mos- used normally as an adverbial preverb³ and as a free adverb in Corm.Y 8.12 (=§70) Ara taire mo á mō 'if you bring back my coat soon'. If Hull⁴ is right, interpreting ACC § 36 Ranic maige mos nad genatar ciuil as 'He quickly reached the plains...', this provides another instance where this word is used as free simple adverb. Stokes's translation⁵ is 'he has reached one plain where the mos is that melodies are not born'; Bernard and Atkinson, on their part, propose 'He reached plains of customs, that songs are not born there'⁶. In any case, it is worth noting that outside Celtic this word is found in Indo-Iranian and Latin⁷ and quite possibly also in Greek⁸, though this has not been universally accepted⁹.

¹IEW 747, cf. Lex. M,58. ²Ped. I,77-8. ³Cf. § 88 below.

⁴1961,245. ⁵ACC § 36, cf. DRIA M,174.47. ⁶Lib.Hymn. II,65.

⁷Lex. M,65. ⁸Schrader 1890, 477. ⁹Frisk, 1970,188.

11. De-adjectival and De-nominal Forms

The Origin of Ind...

§ 46. It is usually accepted that the particle ind used to form adverbs from adjectives in Old Irish is identical with the article¹. Zeuss had stated, on the other hand, that "Possit hib. in comes adverbii comparata cum particula qambr. in, yn, indice ipsa quoque adverbii, haberi praeposition postulans dativum."² Jackson also mentions that "there is something to be said for the view that it is an original preposition +indū"³, although he finds the other explanation a good deal more likely. This view had been taken up by Vendryes⁴, who bases his argument on Morris Jones's proposals against the view that Old Irish in, ind represents the article⁵.

¹Zeuss 1871, 609; DRIA I, 186.3; IEW 182; Gramm. 238; Ped. II, 77; Lewis and Pedersen 1937, 218 ff. and Jackson 1967, 343 n.9 where full references are provided.

²loc.cit. ³loc.cit. ⁴1927, 73-8. ⁵1913, 438: "1. Other prepositions are similarly used in W., see above. -2. The prep. +en-do like +do governed the dat. -3. In Ir. co (Mn.Ir. go, W. pw § 214 iv), which is synonymous with +endo, was often substituted for it, and has superseded it in Mn.Ir. -4. W. ymhell, etc. show that simple +en could be used as well as +endo; yn béll 'afar' and ymhell 'far' are a doublet, both forms being in use; ymhell is the same construction as ymlaen where the yn is a prep. - 5. In W. leniting yn is also used to introduce the indefinite complement of verbs of being, becoming, making, etc., which makes it difficult for a speaker of the language to believe that leniting yn is the definite article. -6. The analogy not only of W. and Ir. but of other languages is all in favour of the prep., e.g. E. a-long, a-broad, etc."

§ 47. Vendryes first discusses Irish, but comes to the conclusion that "l'irlandais n'offre que des présomptions en faveur d'une origine prépositionnelle de in(d)"¹.

On the other hand, "C'est du brittonique que viennent les arguments les plus forts"². The main argument is that in Welsh, there is no n in the article, which thus cannot be connected to the adverbialising particle yn. He maintains that "Si l'on essaye de trouver une préposition dans l'élément qui sert à former les adverbes de manière en celtique, cette préposition ne peut être que l'équivalent du latin endo (indu).". A parallel is also drawn to Gothic und ('vers, jusqu'à').

§ 48. Neither explanation meets with very serious objections on phonological grounds, since a Celtic preposition ⁺endo, indu³ and the dative singular neuter ⁺sindū of the article both should give Old Irish in(d)⁴ with lenition of the following consonant. Morphologically both formations would have parallels in other languages, although it is perhaps not quite as often as that one finds the definite article forming part of adverbs, except in phrases like French à l'an-glaise or Italian alla (moda) Toscana.

¹1927, 74. ²loc.cit. ³The Old Irish preposition ^N'in' arose through original forms like ⁺en and ⁺eni (Viz. Greek ἐν and ἐνι) according to Thurneysen (Gramm. 521) being confused with a form "containing nd, just as Latin endo indu (ind-uere etc.) has been levelled under in (earlier en)". In any case, the old Latin preposition would seem to be a compound of in and a demonstrative stem ⁺de, ⁺do (IEW 182; 312).

⁴Cf. Gramm. 59; 111.

In this connection it might be noted that Zeuss¹ suggests that cruth 'modus' should be subsumed in the Irish, just as a corresponding word might be said to be in the French and Italian examples. Furthermore, the dative without a preposition used adverbially does of course occur² and represents an old "modal" instrumental, as in other IE languages³. Unfortunately, unlike the accusative, the dative singular has the same form in all three genders, thereby ^{denying} us one possible way of finding out whether ind (where it occurs with nouns) is the article or a preposition.

§ 49. In Latin the use of endo, indu as an independent preposition is attested from a few early sources⁴, in surviving as an independent preposition, whereas indu came to be used for forming compounds. Likewise, it could be argued that in Celtic the two prepositions originally having a similar meaning were differentiated in usage, ⁺indu being used for forming adverbs and ⁺in as the locative preposition⁵. As shown by some conjugated forms of i^N 'in', there are other traces of ⁺indu in Irish⁶, but not ones that would help towards settling this matter in a conclusive way⁷.

¹1871,609. ²Cf. §§ 84-5 below. ³Cf. on this point Brugmann and Delbrück 1911,717.

⁴Lewis and Short s.v. in. ⁵Cf. § 48 n. above.

⁶Cf. Gramm. 521. ⁷Zeuss's argument (1871,609) about the possible absence of the particle showing it to be the article, not a preposition that "vix enim poterat deesse", is hardly valid, since the tendency of the language is towards increased use both of article and of prepositions.



§ 50. One tentative way out of settling the argument between the two explanations of ind... might be to try to combine them. Accordingly, in Irish the original preposition ¹indu would have been reinterpreted as the article on becoming homophonous with it, whereas Welsh would have kept the two apart, either because its article did not develop in the same way as the Irish one¹ or because it has a different origin from that of Irish². This sort of reinterpretation would by no means be unique³. In any case, the disappearance both of the free use of the dative and of adverbs with a prefix in(d) homophonous with the article, as against the retention of adverbialising yn different from the article yr in Welsh, argues that, whatever its origin, Irish in(d) was felt to represent the article, not a preposition. Thus, it is not surprising that Irish lost the formation with in(d), since the use of any dative without a preposition is already in Old Irish very restricted, especially in ordinary prose⁴; it does survive occasionally into Middle Irish, but is certainly no longer a feature of any modern dialect⁵.

¹Cf. Jackson 1953, 656. ²For such suggestions, cf. Morris Jones 1913, 194 and Vendryes 1927, 76-7; it must however be remembered that the comparative evidence from Breton and Cornish speaks against this hypothesis.

³Cf. the history of indiu 'today' etc. § 51-4 below.

⁴Cf. §§ 137-8 below. ⁵Cf. e.g. Sjoestedt-Jonval 1938, 21 and Oftedal 1956, 202 ff.

Adjectives and Nouns with Ind

§ 51. Normally an adjective made into an adverb with in(d) stands in the dative singular neuter. Sometimes the u-quality that serves as marker of the dative is absent¹. Consider Sg. 26^a5 ind immdae 'abundantly' against Ml. 35^b5 indimdu. However there seems to be no reason why one should assume that these show any distinction of case, since the nominative and accusative neuter singular and the dative both in nouns² and in adjectives³ quite frequently have identical forms. Therefore it can be expected to occur in this case as well and, accordingly, it is hardly necessary to agree with Pedersen⁴ that his view that "der Artikel i n d, i n als das wesentlichste Kennzeichen der Adverbia aufgefasst wurde" is the cause of all this. Moreover, the fact that in(d) disappeared so early, except perhaps in cases like indiu 'today' etc., which may have been reinterpreted as containing the preposition i^N 'in', shows that in(d) was not felt to be semantically very strong, in any case probably rather weaker than co 'till' which replaced it in this function.

§ 52. Adverbs can be derived from nouns with in(d) in much the same way as from adjectives in the dative⁵.

¹Zeuss 1871,608; Ascoli 1878, p. ccccxvi-cccxvii; Gramm. 238 and DRIA I,186.3-39.

²Gramm. 177. ³Gramm. 224. ⁴Ped. II,77. ⁵Zeuss 1871,609; Ped. II,79 and Gramm. 161-2.

This concerns temporal expressions like Wb. 3^a7 indeetsa¹ 'now'; TE² 146 § 7 d'adhaig 'thenfollowing night'; Sg. 90^b4 indiu 'today' and 148^a13 ind hé 'yesterday'; Thes. II,291.3 innocht 'tonight'. "About in in these words Pedersen² observes: "i n- ist der Artikel, vgl. das Pronomen h e- im C. u.s.w.; vielleicht hat man aber später in dem i n- in i n-d i u und i n-n o c h t 'heute Nacht' c. h e n o corn. h a n e t h mbr. h e n o z die Präposition i n- gesehen; in ir. i n-d h é 'gestern' ist die Silbe nur analogisch eingeführt."

§ 53. Indé may be a survival of an Indo-European adverb represented by Greek $\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ ³. Watkins⁴ sees in the in- of this and similar words "a demonstrative particle +sen (> +sin in the first instance), ultimately the same +se+n, which we have in Celtic in Gaul. (so-)sin DAG 169, as a component of the definite article +sin-d-o, in such forms as OBret. henn 'this' and doubtless specialized as the nom.acc.sg. neuter a n- of the Old Irish article." He further argues that this later may have been reinterpreted as a preposition, probably through the influence of imbáarach 'tomorrow' the "odd stem" of which, he states, "+bārego is in any case a Celtic innovation."⁵ The survival of in- in these words into Modern Irish seems to me to argue for the hypo-

¹ = ind fecht-sa. ²Ped.II,79 ³Gramm.116-7; Ped.I,89.

⁴1966,109-110. ⁵1966,110, but cf. §§ 77-83 below.

thesis that, regardless of its origin, in- in these words was felt to represent a preposition.

§ 54. In either case, when the paradigm of 'day' in these adverbs had established itself, i.e. once -dé from whatever gave Greek $\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ and -diu from what gave inter alia Sanskrit divā 'by day',¹ ~~were~~ felt to belong to the same paradigm, they must have been felt to represent some grammatical case, either dative or accusative, particularly if in- had been reinterpreted as the preposition i^N 'in', which takes both these cases. In such a pattern, it would have been tempting to see indiu as the dative and indé as the accusative, and if so, as some sort of parallel to imbúgruch 'this morning' and imbáarach 'tomorrow'.²

It is perhaps significant that in the modern dialects indiu and indé behave as if the pretonic syllable indeed is the preposition i^N, giving (with assimilation of -nd- to -nn-) the Modern Irish forms inniu and inné in almost all dialects. In Scottish Gaelic, on the other hand, as the present spelling (an diugh and an dé) clearly shows, the stem is still felt to begin with d. From the evidence of a dialect such as that described by Oftedal³, it might be argued that the spelling is etymologizing and the

¹Gramm. 217. ²Cf. § 78 below. ³1956, 217.

the proper word division in fact something more like an iugh and an é as in an uiridh 'last year', where the prevocalic mutation gives the same result¹ as that of a /d/ in an diugh and an dé². On the other hand, as Professor Jackson points out to me, "this deveopment is limited to Lewis, Assynt and parts of Skye"; thus, other dialects, such as those of Barra³, Argyllshire⁴ and Rathlin⁵ show quite separate forms in these words.

§ 55. In-tremdid will be discussed later⁶. At this point it may noted that Pedersen⁷ had taken it as one of two examples where in- is analogical, indé 'yesterday' being the other. According to Zeuss⁸, indórsa 'now' represents an "ablativi forma diversa a dativo", presumably because an a-stem like úar 'hour' might be expected to have a palatal final⁹ in the dative singular. Pedersen¹⁰ explains it from úar but considers the short -o-unclear. DRIA explains¹¹ that this is "perhaps due to confusion with indossa". This word (from ind foss-sa or ind foiss-se) has given Modern Irish anois 'now'. This modern form is found as early as in PH 3782 and

¹Oftedal 1956, 171. ²op.cit. 166. ³Borgstrøm 1937, 226; 237.

⁴Holmer 1938, 154; 231. ⁵Holmer (1942, 247) gives i n-uraidh 'last year' against indé and indiu (op.cit. 205) where the d as pronounced as such. In Antrim (Holmer 1940, 117. z) both this and the Irish pronunciation occur.

⁶§ 56 below. ⁷Ped. II, 79. ⁸1871, 609. ⁹Gramm. 188.

¹⁰Ped. I, 207. ¹¹I, 240. 34.

(spelt annois) in 448. On the other hand, in PH older forms like 6472 indossa, 6028 indnoisse, 438 inossa, 1377 etc. innossa, 5066 innoisi, 180 etc. anossa and 1210 etc. anosa are still rather more frequent. Trisyllabic forms still survive (probably for metrical reasons) in Bardic poetry, as in the line Ar n-éigsi as neimhní annosa 'Now is our Poesy brought to nought'.¹ In the modern dialects only anois is found.

Adverbs in ind...id, -ith

§ 56. Adjectives in -de (from *odjo, *odjā²) and past participles, which are inflected in the same way³, have a special formation in -id or -ith instead of the dative. Examples from adjectives include: Sg. 213^{b7} and 8 indsechtardid gl. on extra; Ml. 66^{d3} and 76^{a14} indimmaircidid gl. on bene and (in Ml. 75^{b10}) on oportunae; Wb. 27^{a12} inchorpdid gl. on corporaliter. These adverbs are derived from the adjectives sechtarda 'external' outer'; immairside 'fitting, appropriate, becoming' and corpda 'corporeal', but in some other cases no corresponding adjective actually occurs, although it can be reconstructed, as in the case of Ml. 135^{d5} inmetafordaid and Ml. 40^{c8} inmetaforecdaid which both are glosses on metaforicos (i.e. μεταφορικῶς). These would be from something like metafor(ec)da and Ml. 53^{c1} and 65^{b3} indremdid gl. on

¹Bergin, ed. 1970, 183 § 2. ²Gramm. 222

³Gramm. 441: the suffix is *-tio-, *-tia-.

on supra probably from something like remde, though Pedersen takes it a loan-word from Welsh trennyd 'the day after tomorrow' with analogical in-¹. Formations from participles include Ml. 42^d12 inchofograigthid gl. on Concinnenter from the past participle fograigthe of fograigidir 'sounds'; indfissid Ml. 68^c9, 71^a2 and 96^b19, gl. on scite: cf. the verbal of necessity fissi from re-fitir 'knows'².

§ 57 A few adverbs in -ith and -id have been formed from nouns, thus indaírmith Sg. 27^a17 gl. on summatim from áirem 'number, sum'; Sg. 44^a4 in comparitit gl. on comparative from comparit 'comparison'; Ml. 62^d3 indíglaid gl. on ulciscenter and Ml. 53^b20 intimthirthid gl. on officialiter. The last two examples show the same forms as the corresponding nouns díglaid 'avenger' and timthirthid 'servant, minister'. This Thurneysen takes to be one possible "basis of this formation...since in Welsh a noun in predicative use is preceded by leniting yn."³ If this view is correct, one might perhaps suggest one contributing factor to have been that some nouns of agency in -ith and -id⁴ and adverbs formed from past participles were homophonous: thus e.g. Sg. 62^b1 indoilbthith gl. on figurate corresponds to Wb. 4^c29 doilbthith 'potter' in the same way as Sg. 65^a17

¹Ped.I,23; II,79. ²Gramm. 463. ³Gramm. 239. ⁴Gramm.171: with a suffix -iati-.

augtorthórmachtaid 'auctor increaser'¹ corresponds to ML. 55^c20 and 89^d5 intormachtid gl. on augenter from the past participle tormachtae of de-formaig 'increases'. § 58. On the other hand, Thurneysen has proposed another explanation, namely that "another possible source is samlith samlaid 'thus, like him, (it)', which may represent a modification of *samith = W. hefyd 'also' under the influence of sam(a)il 'likeness'".² In this case, he states that "Ähnlich erklären sich die zu Substantiven gehörenden Adverbien wie in-diglaid zu digal nach dem Muster samlaid zu samail."³ Pedersen⁴ sees a connection between the endings of indiglaid, inchorpdid and samlaid. He explains⁵ that this ending is in Irish borrowed from Welsh -ydd from Celtic *-ijo-, -ija-. Thurneysen's view⁶ that we are here dealing with the "insular Celtic suffix" -iati- that recalls Gaulish -ati- -at- in Nemausus 'from Nemausus';" seems to me better as an explanation of the fact that these nouns of agency are i-stems and do not belong to a more productive stem-class. In any case, samlaid itself remains hard to explain: it does not seem possible to relate its form to that of a pronoun, though it seems possible to take⁷ it as a conjugated preposition. Why such an ending should have influenced that of de-adjectival adverbs

¹The two words form some sort of compound; hence the lenition in thórmachtaid. Cf. Thes. II, 119 n. h.

²Gramm. 239. ³1901, 40. ⁴Ped. II, 28. ⁵Ped. II, 17.

⁶Gramm. 171. ⁷Cf. § 101 below.

remains rather unclear. The ending -id, -ith is very problematical, but on the whole the kind of explanation mentioned in § 57 seems the most reasonable.

§ 59. In either case Thurneysen is surely right in rejecting the old explanation that -ith, -id was the "singularis ablativi forma"¹ comparable with Gaulish *βεαρουδε*² on the grounds that "Fasst man *-ουδε* als einheitliche Casusendung, so müsste -id im Irischen auch als Endung des vor den Adverbien stehenden Artikels erscheinen."³ This objection would of course not have to be raised, if with Vendryes⁴ and Morris Jones⁵ one were to interpret in(d) from the preposition *indu. It should, moreover, be noted that identifying the case-ending, if any, of *βεαρουδε* poses too many problems for the matter to be dealt with here⁶.

Lastly, it may be remarked upon that the formation ind...ith, -id seems not to occur at all outside the language of the glosses and that many, perhaps most, of the examples of it have a markedly artificial sound ring. However, there is no comparable formation in Latin that this could be a calque of, except if -ith, -id is intended as a similar way of putting an ending

¹Zeuss 1871, 608. ²op.cit. 231. ³1901, 38. ⁴1927, 73-8.

⁵1911, 439. ⁶Cf. Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 165; Thurneysen 1901, 38; Dottin 1920, 35-39, 41, 119, 146, 147, 148, 155, 158, 159; Wagner 1961, 235-241.

onto an Irish past participle to that in which -e is added to a Latin past participle, e.g. in figurate or -ter to a present one, e.g. in ulciscenter.

Some Adverbial Accusatives

§ 60. There are some examples of accusatives with ind, which here definitely must represent the article, as in WB.31^{d14} angaimredsa 'during this winter' or ML.95^{d9} innaithechi n uili 'the whole night'. The morphology of these temporal accusatives does not differ from that of other accusatives.

Thurneysen describes¹ how the expressions fecht n-óen 'einmal, einst'² and la n-oen³ 'eines Tages' show an incipient use of óen 'one' as an indefinite article and how this gave way to expressions like fecht (n)-and⁴ by the twelfth century. In the modern language these finally gave way to expressions with éigin 'of necessity' and hence 'a certain' as well as to the use of aon 'one' with amháin 'only'. In this case, however, he observes that "Aber dieses aon- setzt nicht unmittelbar das alte oen- fort, sondern ist offenbar aus den negativen Sätzen verselbständigt,"⁵ On the other hand, it might be remarked upon that, with lá 'day', the older form still survives in Keating's prose, as in TBh. .247 lá n-aon.⁶ Here the nasalisation

¹1930, 72-75. ²TBC³.1; cf. DRIA F, 55.6-8. ³PH.74; cf. DRIA L, 11.24-8.

⁴Literally: 'at time in it'. ⁵1930, 75. ⁶Cf. .403 and Keat. III.2587.

clearly shows that this is a survival of an older form, but it does not survive into the modern dialects, although Dinneen mentions it, equating it with aon lé amháin.

§ 61. The word tráth 'period of time', 'hour', 'point of time' may be commented on in this connection. The original form is shown in phrases like Fél. Ep. 411 duit, á Chríst, in tráthsa roádsa mo guidi 'to Thee, O Christ, at this time, I have prayed my prayer' and it is still so found in TSh.6409 créad an cantlamh mheasas tú do bheith ann an tráth soin 'what sorrow do you think will be there at that time'. On the other hand passages like TBC³.3639 sul bus trásta imbáarach 'before this hour tomorrow' show how tráth-sa had changed through metathesis and loss of the article, whereas the alternative form in TBC St.3547 would seem to be closer to the original form: anCtrath so. TBC St.2832 attratso 'now' has the later orthographic convention of doubling the t to show that it is nasalised, probably rather because of the article than of a preposition i^N 'in', in which case one would have had to assume that the meaning of the emphasising particle -so, -sa had become so attenuated that the article was no longer felt to be necessary, as it normally would have been. On the other hand, Mer.Uil.².187 Astrásta would seem to contain both i^N (= a) and the definite article (= s), whereas TBC 5866 i trath sa

and the v.l. an tráth so show how different spellings were in fact used.

There is similar confusion when tráth-so is used with co to mean 'hitherto', 'so far'. Thus one finds forms with the article, as in TBC³.2930 costráthea 'until now' and without it, in a v.l. of the same passage, TBC St. 2872-3 go ttrasta, where, however, the nasalisation after co suggests either a very much reduced form of the article nasalising in the accusative or else that here the preposition had been confused with co^N 'with'. Both interpretations present difficulties of one or another^{sort}.

According to Dinneen, the forms i dtrásta, go drásta, go strásta are found in Modern Irish, as well the nouns trásta 'the present' and tráth 'time'. On the other hand, dialect descriptions do not seem to mention these outside Scottish Gaelic, where there is a form an dràs(a), which, as Holmer¹ points out, shows the old (= Irish) nasalisation after the article, though it is possible, although much less likely, that the nasalisation might be from i^N. Borgström² does not pronounce himself on this point, he just mentions: "cp. Atk. i-trasta".

¹1957,95; 1962,64. Where he got the idea that this represent a feminine, I do not know: Dwelly, Dinneen and DRIA show that this originally neuter noun mostly became a masculine later.

²1937,153.

Compared Forms with ind

§ 62. The normal construction of compared adverbial forms will be dealt with later¹. However, there are some uninflected (as always in the case of Irish compared forms) adjectives that occur with ind and about which Thurneysen states: "Such forms, however, are never found in a clause, but occur only in isolated glosses, the language ^{of which} is probably somewhat artificial"². Examples include Ml. 32^d1 indluindiu gl. on commotius and Wb. 1^c20 inmaam gl. on Iudei primum.

On the other hand, the later language has a few examples, where in is used with comparatives in sentences proper, as in Trip.² .2108 in mó 7 in mó 'more and more' and PH .3369 in mor-mo 'far more'. The syntax of these phrases is most interesting³ and may show that these phrases were so petrified that their original connection with other comparatives was somewhat obscured.

Adverbs with co; go; gu

§ 63. The morphology of the formation with co, which is later spelt go and gu (the latter especially in Scottish Gaelic; Manx has dy and gy) does not pose many problems⁴ apart from the origin of the preposition itself. It is cognate with Welsh py 'to', (with a

¹§ 86 below. ²Gramm. 240. ³Cf. §§ 124 and 138 below.

⁴Zeuss 1871, 608; Ped. II, 77; Gramm. 239; Sjoestedt-Jonval 1938, 76-7; Kneen 1931, 95 and Oftedal 1956, 218.

possessive pronoun bwy 'to its'), which "shows that the original anlaut was g^w or kw^w"¹. Pokorny merely states² that it is not from the same root as co^N 'with'. Hamp³ argues against Thurneysen¹ for the recognition of a Slavic cognate. Both, however, agree that the gemination occurring after this preposition is secondary; Wagner states that "co im Ir. als Präposition, ad verdrängt und von ihm seine Anlautsyntax übernommen hat."⁴

It governs the accusative. Examples from Old Irish include ML. 38^o12 commór 'up to a high degree' ML. 69^d12 and 77^a7 cocóir 'properly'. The history of how this formation displaced that in ind is discussed elsewhere⁵ as are some possible reasons for this⁶.

For the sandhi-h caused by go in Modern Irish, Pedersen mentions⁷ it together with other similar cases, unfortunately without giving an opinion as to its origin, whether analogical or not. The forms BDD².1174 cosinnocht 'until tonight' and cusané 'to yesterday'⁸ as well as the later Aithd. Dána 89.29 gus anois are interesting in that they show an s, either in analogy with cases like custrásta 'till now' already discussed elsewhere⁹ or perhaps from Watkins's +sen- in some of these adverbs of time¹⁰.

¹Gramm. 502. ²IEW 613. ³1956, 282. ⁴1972, 3. ⁵§ 139 below.
⁶§ 50; cf. also § 51 above. ⁷Ped.I, 405. ⁸Meyer, ed. 1915, 341.21.

⁹§ 61 above. ¹⁰Cf. the references in § 53 above.

§ 64. Modern Irish choidhche 'ever' is derived from an older form caidche which, as Zimmer has shown¹, ultimately goes back to co 'till' and aidchi, accusative singular of adaig 'night', quoting and (against Windisch²) approving the explanation given in an early glossary³. According to Pedersen, the Modern Irish spelling a choidhche is because of "Ver-mischung mit den Fällen, wo die Lenition von der reduzierten oder geschwundeten Präposition do bewirkt ist".⁴ In any case, the lenition itself is much earlier and seems not to have been caused by a particle that later disappeared. PH shows three instances of lenition⁵ against one of non-lenition⁶. Later, lenition is the rule, as in many other adverbs⁷. The modern by-form choidhchinn mentioned by Dinneen seems to be restricted to Cois Fhairrge Irish⁸ whereas (a) choidhche is found elsewhere⁹, as it is in Scottish Gaelic, according to Dwelly¹⁰.

¹1890,55-8. ²IT I,410. ³O'Cl. 383.32. ⁴Ped.I,457.

⁵.4196; .5078; .5201; ⁶.7648. ⁷Cf. § 33 above.

⁸GCF 211.27. ⁹Ring, Co. Waterford; Breatnach 1947, 93.16; West Muskerry, Co. Cork; Ó Guív 1944,44; Dunquin, Co. Kerry; Sjøestedt-Jonval 1938,77; Co. Clare, Mac Clúin I,1940,222; Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo: de Búrca 1958,33,69,95; Erris, Co. Mayo: Mhac an Fhailigh 1968,35, 140, 174; Teelin, Co. Donegal: Wagner 1959¹,34, 35, 73; Urris, Co. Donegal; Evans 1969,89. In all but the first four of these the optional prefix a is mentioned.

¹⁰On the other hand, I have not found it mentioned in dialect descriptions.

It has been suggested that co matain 'till morning' may in some instances have gone through a similar shift in meaning¹; in this case one might however observe that no traces of such a shift seem to survive in the modern language. The same applies to co fescor 'till evening'².

Some Prepositional Phrases

§ 65. As Zeuss puts it: "Formulae adverbiales substantivorum, interdum et adiectivorum, cum praepositionibus sunt plures"³. In very many cases it is not at all easy to determine the boundary between what forms an adverb and what constitutes a prepositional phrase, though there are some criteria⁴.

Here some expressions that seem clearly adverbial will be mentioned, especially ones where the morphology somehow seems different from that of normal prepositional phrases. Note also that phrases with co 'till' have already been discussed⁵ and that it is possible that the ind that is used to form adverbs out of adjectives may represent an original preposition⁶.

Finally, it should perhaps be made quite clear that the material discussed in the following section⁷ only represents a small selection of what actually is available.

¹Quin 1964, 51. ²TBC². 651, cf. Wortk. § 227. ³1871, 609.

⁴Cf. § 24 above. ⁵§§ 63-64 above. ⁶§§ 46-50. ⁷§§ 65-76.

§ 66. In the case of air 'before, for', it may be noted that the distinction between this preposition with the accusative where motion is implied and the dative where rest is meant is best shown in petrified phrases like ML. 46^a12 archenn 'towards' and ML. 46^a7 archiunn 'before', which are used as compound prepositions¹.

Note that phrases like ar ais 'back' in the modern language are interesting in that they have preserved otherwise obsolete nouns, in this case ais 'hinder part'.

§ 67. The examples given by DRIA² of adverbs formed with co^N 'with' are confined to denominal ones like collondas ML. 130^a9 gl. on dedignanter.

As Breatnach³ has shown, the phrase go leith 'and a half', literally 'with a half' is noteworthy in that it has in Munster Irish become an adjective where the accent has shifted to the first syllable: guile.

§ 68. Examples⁴ of "standing phrases" with de 'of' or 'from' include the curious phrase Acall.5474 di chian 'from afar (of space) ~~an~~ against' Wb. 6^d8 dichéin 'from afar (of space and time)'. Stokes's text has do chian,

¹DRIA A,365.35 ff. ²C,274.33-41. ³1963,254-5.

⁴DRIA D-degóir 144-5.

where the nominative (or accusative neuter?) is no more to be expected than in the form quoted in DRIA. In any case, the meaning is that of de 'from', not do 'to': this illustrates how these two prepositions frequently became confused.

§ 69. Fo 'under' enters into a number of petrified phrases, of which fo sech 'astray'¹ is perhaps one of the most interesting since it seems to follow the formation pattern: preposition + preposition = adverb. In this connection, however, it should be noted that there are two different phrases fo sech, one² with fo 'under' that means 'astray' and the other³ from immasech, which consists of imm 'around', a^N 'their' and sech 'past'⁴. Note the by-forms masech and mosech. All these mean 'in turn, (each) in (his) turn, one by one'³.

Fo is also used as the multiplicative with numerals, as in Wb. 24^b22 fodí namma 'twice only'; 17^d4 fothrí 'three times'; BCr. 31^c5 a óen fodeich 'ten times one'. In each case the Latin numeral adverb is being translated. Fraser makes⁵ the interesting comment: "That the use of fo here is ultimately the

¹As in Arch. 3,239 § 19. ²DRIA S,125.39. ³DRIA S,124.85.

⁴Gramm. 517-8. Cf. also § 71 below for some other similar phrases.

⁵1912,34.

same as that with verbs of motion may be inferred from such a construction as $\xi\varsigma \tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ Pind. O. 2.124."

§ 70. Wb. 6^a30 isfride 'it is in the day' shows the survival of the old word for 'day', which otherwise mostly occurs only in certain adverbs, which have been discussed elsewhere¹.

§ 71. Im(m) 'about', 'mutually' can be used to form adverbs from some other prepositions with the insertion of a^N which is a "petrified possessive pronoun 3 pl."², immalle 'together, simultaneously' (later reduced to maille³); immanetar 'mutually, in turn'; immasech 'in turn'⁴. The origin of immanair, immonair 'a-going' is unclear⁵, though it seems not unlikely that it was formed with air 'before, for' as the last element; if so, it belongs to the same pattern as the previous words, unlike immanúair, which if DRIA is right about proposing the meaning 'then? presently?' contains the noun úar 'hour'.

§ 72. Many prepositional and other phrases are formed with i^N 'in'⁶, like i tosuch, i tús 'in the beginning'. The Scottish Gaelic phrase (a)bhànn 'down, downwards' is noteworthy in that it shows the preservation of the Irish type of nasalisation, better shown by the spelling

¹ §§ 50-54. ² Gramm. 518 ³ Cf. the example quoted in § 22 n.

⁴ Cf. § 69 above. ⁵ DRIA I, 124.42. ⁶ It is also used in the pair imbúaruch and imbáarach 'this morning' and 'tomorrow morning' which present special problems, discussed below, §§ 77-83.

of the Irish equivalent i bhfán. The Scottish type of nasalisation is found in sam bith 'at all', although, as McCaughey¹ points out, one might not have expected nasalisation at all, but lenition instead.

The series meaning 'out(side)' and 'in(side)' is interesting in that it shows how the original meanings of the nouns involved have almost completely disappeared: immach 'out' (from i^Nmag (acc.) 'into plain') and immaig (from i^Nmaig (dat.) 'in plain') contrast with istech² (from isa tech (acc.) 'into the house') and istig² (from isin tig (dat.) 'in the house') in that the first two denote rest or movement in relation to the outside and the latter in relation to the inside. The system was not always as symmetrical as this might imply. Originally, there seems to have been three adverbs from *magos 'plain', including ammaig 'in from outside' (or very literally 'out of plain')³. Most interestingly, this form seems to survive down to our days in the phrase amach is ammaig³ and also, at least

¹1971,30. ²In these, an s from the article is somewhat unexpected in what may be very old phrases (Cf. Binchy 1966,4). It might just be possible that the s comes from a by form with "s movable" as in Greek σῆνος and στῆνος (Cf. § 92 below). On the other hand, the existence of ammaig 'in from outside' may argue against any great antiquity for istech and istig as adverbs of place. The question is hardly settled by the early form i taig (Kelly, ed. 1973,19 § 18a) which is used to contrast i maig. The editor does not take i taig as an adverb, since he translates the passage, which runs Columb i taig for each ngin/Columb i maig, medar caich 'Columb in the house on every mouth, Columb outside, the talk of everyone'.

³Cf. O'Brien 1958,100.

in Classical Modern Irish, in TSh.3207 ris an doras amuigh 'towards the door from outside', where an adverb of 'provenance' would of course be expected. Except for ammaig, Modern Irish has kept these adverbs pretty much as they were in Old Irish. In some Scottish Gaelic dialects, on the other hand, the system seems to be breaking down. Thus Barra seems to have generalised the adverbs of rest a muigh 'outside' and a staigh 'inside' to denote movement as well. This is made explicit only in the case of a staigh¹, so it could be that, although not listed, a mach 'out' survives in Barra, as it seems to in Ross-shire, where "a staigh seemed commoner than a steach".²

§ 73. One interesting use of the preposition i^N 'in' is together with another element in adverbs of place in the series where s (= fa-) is the dominant first element³; thus we find innonn 'to over there' where it seems to be compounded with al(1) 'beyond'⁴. In ille 'to here' the second element would seem to be either the preposition la (later le) 'with', as Thurneysen⁵ would seem to imply, or a reduced form of the noun leth 'side', as Pedersen⁶ takes it. In this instance, it must be noted that the noun and

¹Borgström 1937, 98. ²Borgström 1941, 114. ³§§ 91-4 below.

⁴Cf. § 97 below for -ll becoming -nn. ⁵Gramm. 523.

⁶Ped.I, 294.

the preposition have a common origin, the original form being a noun¹. Thus it might be possible that the origin of the interesting formation preposition + preposition = adverb² should be sought, if not in this particular form, then at least in a similar one, where a noun has become a simple preposition and an old prepositional phrase thus been reinterpreted as consisting of two prepositions.

§ 74. Apart from perhaps appearing in ille 'to here', as discussed above³, la 'with' enters in some adverbial phrases, often ones where it had fallen together with re 'before' and fri 'against'. Thus we find Párl na mB.143.4 re linn a thraibhléireacht 'during his journeying', where a more modern variety of Irish would prefer le linn.

In the phrase le hais 'beside' we find the obsolete noun ais, just as in ar ais⁴ 'back'. Also, in Munster this phrase has gone through a shift of accent giving the form leathais⁵.

§ 75. Ó, úa 'from', 'by' is found with the Irish cognate urid of the Indo-European adverb that gave Doric Greek πέρυρ, Old Norse fjorð, Middle High German vert etc. in Wb. 16^o14 ónnurid 'since last year'. This is presumably the preposition that is still found in the

¹Gramm. 523. ²Cf. § 69 above and § 98 below. ³§ 73.

⁴Cf. § 69 above. ⁵Cf. Dinneen s.v. ais and Sjöestedt-Jonval 1938, 102.

TBC³: .2878 ánuraid¹, though here the meaning is simply 'last year' as it normally is in the modern dialects, where the spellings anuraidh, Munster anuiridh and Scottish Gaelic an uiridh. This word division, as against that in e.g. a nochd is justified in Scottish Gaelic, but not in Irish, by the prevocalic mutation, at least in Lewis².

§ 76. Finally, in this section, one might just mention ós, úas 'above', which is nowadays mainly found as part of the compound preposition ós cionn 'above'. Note that cionn, as apart from ceann, represents the old dative, which apart from expressions like this, is not a feature of o-stems in the modern language. Also, the role of ós as a second element in adverbs of place is important³.

¹At least, this is what the v.l. onuraid would seem to imply, in spite of the meaning. On the other hand, Meid, commenting on TBFr. .242 inuraid, maintains (Kommentar 192) that this is a "temporaler Dativ mit Artikel". He derives support for this view from other similar phrases mentioned by Thurneysen (Gramm. 161). The v.l. mentioned is however not the only example listed by DRIA U, 90.55-65 of variants with an initial o. Thus it is at least possible that there was some amount of contamination between forms that contained a preposition, like Wb. 16^c 14 quoted above and ones like the one in TBFr. that at least may have been felt at some stage to contain the article, not a preposition.

²Oftedal 1956, 171; 216. Note, that as Bardic verse clearly shows (Cf. e.g. Aithd. D. nr 69 § 20) words like this were treated as having an initial vowel or consonant with more regard for alliteration than etymology in Irish.

³Cf. §§ 37; 89; 90; 91, 97 n.; 99.

I mbúarach 'this morning', i mbáarach 'tomorrow'¹

§ 77. The pair i mbúarach 'this morning' and 'just now' and i mbáarach 'tomorrow' has still to be described in a satisfactory way. Zimmer² and Vendryes³ state that the two words must have quite separate origins. Pedersen⁴ expresses certain doubts and Meid⁵ argues, rightly, it seems to me, that "Hier hat jedoch die eindeutige Semantik den Vorrang vor lautlichen Bedenken". Like Zimmer and Vendryes, he derives búarach from bó 'cow' and áarach 'tying', i.e. equating the time when the cows are tied up for milking with the morning. This is not unreasonable, considering the Greek parallel βουλντός 'the time for unyoking oxen' and the Homeric adverb βουλυτόνδε 'at eventide'. Early Irish glossaries supply similar information⁶.

¹This section (§§77-83) is an appendix to § 72 above.

²1888, 17. ³1937, 128. ⁴Ped. I, 99. ⁵1969, 72 = TBFr.³
Kommentar 184 (on .205 i mbáarach).

⁶Corm. 7 .9-10: "Buarach .i. bó 7 áarach .i. fosta. Buarach dano bóergi .i. matan moch. unde dicitur fescor imbuarach.": 'Buarach i.e. 'cow' & 'tying' i.e. 'steadiness' (?). Buarach then (means) cow-rising, i.e. early morning. unde dicitur 'evening' & 'morning' (translating the more intelligible reading "fescor 7 būarach" from Corm. Y § 131, which otherwise reads like Corm. 7); O'Dav. 232 (§ 215): "Buaroch .i. moch, i.e. bo-erge...": 'Buaroch, i.e. 'early', i.e. bo-erge 'cow-rising', ...; O'Cl. 377.19: "BUARACH .i. bó éirghe .i. moch mhaidean": 'BUARACH i.e. cow rising i.e. early morning'. Under a separate heading (377.17) O'Cl. gives BŪARACH 'cow-spancel'.

§ 78. As Zimmer and Meid note, as far as case is concerned, i mbúaruch and i mbáarach seem to relate to each other in the same way as immaig 'outside' and immach 'out' or 'to the outside', i.e. as the dative to the accusative. Here the first difficulty arises, although Zimmer put it that "Da in mit dem Dativ räumlich und zeitlich die Ruhe, den Zustand, mit dem accusative die richtung des wohin ausdrückt, zeitlich also die bevorstehende ruhe, so ist vollkommen klar, dass die sprache ein imbúaruch für 'heute früh' und ein imbáarach für 'morgen früh' verwenden konnte." This is stretching normal Irish usage: i^N 'in' with the dative expresses point of time whereas the accusative stands for duration¹. On the other hand, one might note that, if it were not for their rather different origins², indiu 'today' and indé 'yesterday' could be interpreted in a similar way. In this case, the point in common would be something like: the dative expressed a point in time 'now' and the accusative one 'not now'. Such a use of these cases is however, to my knowledge, not otherwise known.

§ 79. The second difficulty is in the alternation -úa-/-á-. Meid seeks to explain this by postulating that "báarach dürfte eine Elision von ó voraussetzen:

¹DRIA I,7.28.9. ²Cf. § 54 above.

*b(ó)-árach". Why this did not affect both members of the paradigm remains unexplained. It is rather striking that with two exceptions¹, all instances² known to me of i mbúaruch preserve the u-quality rather faithfully, as one might expect in an early dative. In later texts, confusion could have been expected after the phonemic value of vowels in unstressed syllables had become schwa. It is probably quite significant that i mbúaruch does not seem to occur in PH at all. In fact it was replaced quite early by the loan-word matáin. Thus it is at least possible that, where it is found, i mbúaruch represents an older stratum of the language, where the u-quality might have been significant. All this would tend to support what Zimmer and Meid have to say about the dative and the accusative being used in these words.

§ 80. Now it might be possible to speculate about the contrast -úa/-á- reflecting the same distinction in a construction where both members of a phrase are

¹Corm.7.10 (Cf. 77 n. above) and TFrag. 46.15

²LU 5056; LL 8785; Hib.Min. 3.85; TFrag. 46.16; LL 9252, 12988, 14025, 35701, Lib.Hymn. 87.15. The first four mean 'just now' (The last-mentioned of these is by O'Donovan translated 'last night', but 'just now' makes better sense to me. Vendryes (1937,130) discusses Brittonic parallels to such a semantic shift.

³Except perhaps in O'Mulc.749 imbároch = Corm.Y § 781 imbarach.

inflected in the same case. Thus one might get a dative (original instrumental) búa- from *bō-¹ from *bou from Celtic *bouū from Indo-European *g^ulouū and an accusative *bá- from Celtic *bān² from Indo-European *g^ulōm³. This is of course assuming that the first element is a noun 'cow'. The only alternative that I can imagine would be that this first element is an adjective, but this seems far less attractive, since in this case it seems more than unlikely that an accusative *g^ulouion could have developed into *bō- early enough for bā to have ensued regularly. Thus the second element in these compounds would, for the first element to have case endings, have to be an adjective, a noun in apposition or a participle. Thus we might be dealing with an absolute construction of the same type as the Latin "ablativus absolutus". Although such constructions, as far as I know, are not used in the Celtic languages, this could be a survival of an older state of affairs, since these constructions are well-known in other Indo-European languages⁴.

¹Gramm. 40. ²Gramm. 35. ³IEW 482. ⁴Meillet and Vendryes: "L'usage des constructions absolues remontent à l'indo-européen et résulte de l'autonomie des mots; il devait y être très libre. Les diverses langues l'ont généralement fixé à un cas particulier, le sanskrit au locatif (et au génitif), le gotique au datif (exceptionnellement à l'accusatif?), le grec au génitif (et à l'accusatif), le latin à l'ablatif." (1924, 556.)

§ 81. As far as the second element of the phrase is concerned, a participle in -nt- is of course ruled out. Secondly, the nasalising effect of $^+b\bar{a}^N$ rules out the prefix ad-, as postulated by Zimmer and Meid in árach 'tying'. However, if the meaning 'bind' is retained, the same stem might be suitable, since there may be instances of rigid 'binds' used as a simple verb¹. Thus we would have to postulate a second element ^+regos or with ablaut ^+rogos meaning something like 'bound' or 'that which is bound' in a similar way as e.g. Greek τόκος 'offspring' relates to τίκτω fut. τέξω 'beget'. Perhaps ^+rogos is somewhat more suitable, since it would explain the retention of u-quality better, where -ch would be expected to be neutral and, according to Thurneysen² "only where the vowel of the preceding syllable is o are occasional exceptions found".

In this connection we should note the existence of a word cennrach 'fastening of a milkshaft, halter, buckle', where -rach seems to be from the same root as rigid³. There is also Lec.Gl. 264 rach .1. rige, for which the translation 'a fore-arm' is

¹DRIA R,68.53 ff., but cf. Ped.II,592. ²Gramm. 106.

³IEW 861-2.

given¹. Dinneen has righe 'fore-arm', whereas DRIA² gives rig with the same meaning. Therefore, it could be that the gloss rige in fact refers to rige 'binding'³, not 'fore-arm', in view, also, of the fact that some compounds of reg-, rig- 'binds' have verbal nouns in -rach or (after palatalised consonant⁴) -rech. Thus the glossary's rach might be an obsolete verbal noun, no longer used with the simple verb. Note further that Dinneen lists ceannrach with meanings like 'head-tie; tether; head-stall; bridles; some part of mill; etc.'. Even if this does not really give us anything like a noun + adjectives (i.e. 'bound end-point') at least it does supply a deverbal noun with a concrete meaning. Thus, we might get something like 'head or end binding' for ce(a)n(r)ach and accordingly 'the cow being bound' or more literally 'the cow being that which is bound' as the original meaning of what gave Old Irish bárach and búarach. The preposition might be secondary, introduced when the free use of the dative became less regular.

¹DRIA R,2.2. The same translation is given by Stokes in the index to this glossary (Arch. 1, 91).

²R,64.42 ff. ³DRIA R,67.49 ff. ⁴Ped.II, 592.

§ 82. One possible alternative is suggested by the glossaries referred to above¹, namely that pace Vendryes² the etymology bó éirghe 'cow rising' should be taken seriously. In this case an uncompounded form of the root *reǵ 'reken'³ is needed but support from other words in the language is more difficult to find.

The objection about the strange use of cases has been discussed; it should, however, be noted that it remains, even if one explains búaruch and báarach to be completely unconnected words.

The Brittonic cognates must be mentioned. Welsh bore and Breton beure 'morning' do not show the same kind of alternation within the paradigm as Old Irish búaruch and báarach. Whether they should be related to what gave the Irish "dative" or "accusative" is not at all very certain, in spite of Meid's various proposals⁴ for taking them either from *bārego- or from *bourego-. I can only agree with him: "Auf keinen Fall ist es erforderlich, air. búarach und báarach voneinander und von den brit. Wörtern zu trennen".

§ 83. Finally, one more possibility must be mentioned. MacBain⁵ and Windisch⁶ mention a connection with the Germanic words that have the same meaning, i.e. Gothic maurgins 'morning' etc. from a root *mer(ə)k⁷.

¹§ 77 n., especially O'Cl. ²1937,128 ³IEW 854 ff.

⁴1969,72=TBFr. ⁵Kommentar 184. ⁶1896 s.v. amàireach.

⁷IT I,612. ⁷IEW 734, cf. de Vries 1961,392 and Feist 1939,350-351.

Two points may be noted. Firstly, the Germanic formations agree with the Celtic ones in that they often occur in prepositional phrases such as English 'tomorrow' or Swedish i morse 'this morning'.¹ Secondly, Meid's remark² about "eindeutige Semantik" applies.

Lastly, however, apart from rather serious "taut-liche Bedenken", amongst others those that led Zimmer to reject³ Windisch's views, along these lines the alternation -úa-/-á- is left completely unexplained.

Formations without Prefixes

§ 84. There are instances in the glosses of adverbs formed from simple and adjectives in the dative singular without ind or a preposition, not only of alailiu, arailiu 'otherwise', which never takes the article⁴, but also of forms like Sg. 147^a7 gair biuc iartain 'shortly afterwards'. On the other hand, this formation, quoted by Thurneysen⁵ seems rather more like a case where noun and adjective are used together in a temporal dative with no preposition⁶. Consider also the phrase gair biu riana chésad 'a little while before his passion'⁷. As one would expect from the tendency for the article not to occur in archaic Old Irish⁸, Thurneysen states that de-adjectival adverbs without ind "occur more frequently"⁹ in the legal

¹Watkins (1966,110) calls this "an areally spread feature, with its apogee in Scandinavia".

²1969,72. ³1888,15. ⁴Gramm. 307. ⁵Gramm. 239.

⁶Gramm. 161. ⁷LU 2310=Stokes,ed. 1880,246,9.

⁸Binchy 1966,4. ⁹Gramm. 239.

language, quoting the examples étéchtu 'unlawfully' and ci[u]rt cóir 'properly and rightly' unfortunately without giving references; I have not been able to locate a passage of legal language where étéchtu¹ clearly qualifies a verb. If, as seems likely, from Thurneysen, ed. 1923, 379 § 43 cirt coir might just as easily be interpreted as noun + adjective as the translation² 'nach richtiger Ordnung' would suggest; the same applies to Laws II, 306.5 cirt coir 'after strict justice'. It is also likely that ML. 35^a1 talmaidiu 'suddenly' is the dative of a noun³.

On the other hand, ML. 50^c13 inchlidiu 'secretly' is perhaps a de-adjectival adverb without ind, as would be indicated by ML. 100^c7 indinolidid gl. on latenter, though the different endings leave room for some doubt, especially since there are cases where this word is used as a noun⁴.

In any case, examples can be found elsewhere, as in fo·sceinn úad opunn.⁵

§ 85. It would be rather difficult to prove that the modern adverbial usage of obann 'sudden' without go

¹Note also that this word may occur as a noun. Cf. DRIA E, 225.z.

²Thurneysen, ed. 1923, 380.6. ³Cf. Hdb. 228.

⁴Cf. DRIA I, 207.72-6. 5.

←-?

discussed below¹ bears any relationship to these early adverbial free datives. On the other hand, this may well be the case in the case of de-nominal compound prepositions like c(h)ois in cois na mbóithrí² and chois an chlaoidhe údaf³ 'beside the roads' and 'beside that wall'. Unfortunately I have no examples from earlier Irish where cois is used in a similar way. The lenition belongs to the type that often occurs in adverbs⁴, not caused by a lost preposition, though there is of course no evidence that shows that one has not been lost; it may be significant that in Scottish Gaelic similar phrases with cois seem not to occur without a preposition.

In the older language there is at least one rather similar nominal preposition, namely ciunn (also spelt cinn), dative of cenn 'head, end' as in Fél.194.28 (Sep. 17) ráid a paiss cinn bliadnae 'tell her passion at a year's end' and LU 1662⁵ Tofuisim a mbanscál mac cind ix. mís 'At the end of nine months the woman brought forth a son'. This is probably what later appears regularly as i gcionn with

¹§ 143-4. ²GCF 14.32. ³GCF 164.5. ⁴Cf. § 33 above.

⁵Cf. MD 454.9. In the YBL version this passage reads (MD² 100.29) rather differently: Tic dano aimser tuismidh do chaillig a cind nói mís 'At the end of nine months the time came to the nun to give birth'. This of course corresponds much more closely to modern usage, where this phrase does not seem to survive.

the same meaning, but with a simple preposition. It is interesting that the only modern dialect where ceann is used in this way without a simple preposition seems to be Manx, where the odd phrase kionfenish 'present' occurs¹. However, in this case, it seems to me likely that there was a simple preposition before kione, as in Irish i gcionn.

Modern Irish arís(t)² 'again' has an interesting history. As Strachan has shown³, the phrase may be analysed as frith-éis 'return track' with a possessive pronoun in the appropriate person. In Middle Irish, this quite soon became petrified, either as do frithissi or a frithissi, which eventually became the normal⁴ form. Strachan is doubtless right when he describes it as "construction of the same kind as ἔντα δόρυ"; i.e. as an internal accusative. In the later language arís has

¹Cf. Neo Ean ch. xii v. 29: Dooyrt y pobble er-y-fa shen va kionfenish... 'The people therefore that stood by said...'. This is presumably from cionn dative of head with a lost (?) preposition and fiadhnais 'testimony'.

Cregeen gives some other similar phrases, like kione y cheilley 'through others, mixed' and the compound preposition (as it is now) kiongoyrt 'before, in presence of', which seems like a combination of cionn and what in Modern Irish appears as na gcuairt 'around'.

²With the epenthetic -t common to a number of modern dialects. Cf. Ped.I, 482.

³1900, 230-1. ⁴DEIA F, 447.42 ff.

has joined the class of adverbs that have a pretonic schwa.

Lastly, it should be noted that in Modern Irish dialects, it is rather common for nouns and adjectives to be used adverbially without any special marker. These would mostly seem to be adverbials of time, as in GCF 201.9-10 chuaidh go leor beithidhigh soir tráthnóna 'many animals went east in the evening'. In this connection, it is also worth remembering the prepositionless use of dia 'day', modern Dia, Dé, which before the names of the days of the week survives to the present day. This would seem to be a genitive of time.¹

Adverbs Preposed with the Copula

§ 86. Thurneysen² remarks that "An adverb formed from the dative of the adjective cannot be used in periphrasis with the copula before its clause, like other parts of speech. Where this construction is used, the adverbial form is replaced by the nominative sg. neuter of the adjective (without the article), and a nasalising relative clause follows". It should perhaps be noted that, given Thurneysen's explanation of the nasalising relative clause³, the example he gives of this construction, Wb. 28^b32 arndin maith nairlethar

¹Gramm. 151; 159. ²Gramm. 240. Note the exceptions from this rule discussed in §§ 124-5 below.

³Gramm. 323.

'so that he may care well' does not show clearly that the adjective is in fact in the nominative singular neuter, since it could stand for anything in the singular except a feminine genitive.

An example quoted by Dillon¹, Wb. 118^o 6^o nisdían dorreractid máam indsoaséili 'it is quickly you have deserted the yoke of the gospel' helps to eliminate the dative and accusative feminine, as one might expect. On the otherhand, in non-adverbial examples like Wb. 5^b 28 is inse hduit 'it is impossible for thee' the nominative/accusative singular neuter is quite evident; and so it might well be in Wb. 28^b 32 as well, if Pedersen's explanation² of nasalising clauses is accepted.

§ 87. Adverbial forms of comparison normally come before their clause with the copula, and like those in the positive, they require a nasalising relative clause to follow, as in Wb. 27^d 19 islerithir inse nonguidimse dia nerutsu 'as zealously as this do I beseech God for thee and Wb. 4^o 33 isdínimu dongní alaill it is more carelessly he makes the other'.³ Since no compared forms in any stage of Irish are inflected, their morphology as adverbs needs no further comments.

¹1928, 333. ²1899, 396. ³Both these are quoted by Thurneysen, Gramm. 240.

Adverbial Prefixes of Verbs

§ 88. Some adjectives are prefixed to verbs when used adverbially. It is probably better to treat them as preverbs¹, but Thurneysen's statement that "the verb is apparently never attached to them in enclisis"² might be interpreted as giving them more autonomy than other preverbs. This presumably means that such verbs are always deuterotonic, never prototonic, regardless of whether another preverb otherwise might have caused the compound to be prototonic.

Like the prepositions, some of them undergo changes in this position, e.g. ml. 90^b12 madgenatar 'blessed are they' with maith³ 'good'; dech mo charam⁴ 'which we love best' with dech, deg⁵ 'best'; mó 'soon'⁶ becomes mos-, while mí- ('not', 'un-') is apparently "capable of bearing the stress like a preposition"⁷.

¹Cf. cetu 'first', § 43 above. ²Gramm. 240.

³With loss of palatalisation in proclisis, Gramm. 105; cf also Ped.I, 272.

⁴Meyer, ed. 1907^a, 296 § 42; O'Brien (1932, 168) suggests that one should read dechmo-charam.

⁵The origin of this element má is disputed. Thurneysen takes it (Gramm. 241; Bürgschaft 24 § 65E n. 4) to be through analogy with sechmo, as in Sg. 196^b2 sechmoella 'lacks, passes by' (cf. Gramm. 530) but O'Brien contests this, explaining it to be "due to the analogical influence of other superlatives, used in the same manner", though, as he states, "no other examples have turned up."

⁶Cf. § 45 above. ⁷This seems therefore to be the only one that behaves exactly like a preverb (= a preposition of type A and B: Gramm. 495), since, after another preverb, it takes the stress, as ml. 56^a16 ní miaipir 'non... mala dicít', about which it is said (Gramm. 241) that "aipir is probably enclitic."

iii. Adverbs of Place

The Material

§ 89. Thurneysen¹ gives the following list of adverbs of place:

	"A 'where'	B 'whither'	C 'whence'
'here'	<u>sund, sunda</u>	<u>il-lei, il-le</u>	<u>de-siu</u>
'there, beyond'	<u>t-all</u>	<u>inn-unn, inn-onn</u>	<u>an-all</u>
'above'	<u>t-úas</u>	<u>s-úas</u>	<u>an-úas</u>
'below'	<u>t-is</u>	<u>s-is</u>	<u>an-is</u>
'in front, east'	<u>t-air</u>	<u>s-air</u>	<u>an-air</u>
'behind, west'	<u>t-iar</u>	<u>s-iar</u>	<u>an-iar</u>
'right, south'	<u>dess</u>	<u>fa-des, sa-dess</u>	<u>an-dess</u>
'left, north'	<u>túaid</u>	<u>fa-thúaidh, sa-thúaid</u>	<u>an-túaid a-túaid</u>
'outside'		<u>sechtair</u>	<u>an-echtair</u>

To these one might add the series immaig 'outside', immach 'out' and ammaig 'from the outside'². Here too, the fundamental point of interest is that three "cases" are shown by prefixes. The heterogeneity of the latter is worth remarking upon at this stage: although there is a dominant series of prefixes, the fact that other ones are also used is rather striking.

Concerning -echtair, it seems certain³ that the adverbial form almost always had the -i-, which in turn is missing when it is used as a preposition.

¹Gramm. 305. ²Cf. §§ 72-73 above. ³O Daly 1948, 75.

Another thing that needs to be noted about these is that they do not seem to form part of the system of "cases", in which each adverb indicates one of the notions 'where', 'whither' and 'whence'. Finally, note that there are good reasons, apart from the obvious semantic ones, for treating these adverbs together, since there is a clear pattern that runs through the morphology of most of them.

Adverbs in t-

§ 90. From the list above it will be seen that the most important part in the Irish system of adverbs of place is played by the directional prefixes t-, s- and an-. Their origins have been described in various ways.

Starting with the one in t-, Zeuss¹ explains that it might be from the preposition do 'to'. Pedersen merely mentions it as "in lokativischer Funktion ein t-..."². Walsh states as a "possible explanation...the analogy of túaid 'on the left'".³ The fact that, unlike the corresponding adverbs in s- and an- túaid and dess 'right, south' might seem to support this view. On the other hand the prefix could have disappeared through haplology. Thurneysen maintains that as the preposition to, tu (do, du) "indicates direction, it must be distinct from the t-

¹1871, 617. ²Ped. II, 87. ³1912, 133; cf. Breatnach 1956, 335 n. 6 who makes the same statement (without mentioning Walsh).

in the adverbs of place t-úas, t-air etc.", but adds that "both are undoubtedly connected with the IE. demonstrative stem to-."¹ The meaning of the preverb to- has been discussed a great deal. Holmer states² that "S'il est impossible de fixer le sens concret du préfixe to- il est du moins possible qu'il n'est pas "à"". More recently, Dillon³ has agreed with Holmer that the preverb to- is distinct from the preposition and shown that its original use in Irish is as a connective of the same kind and origin as Hittite ta-.⁴ On the other hand, although he states that "it may be identified with with the t- in túas, tair etc."⁵ he unfortunately gives no justification for this view. Wagner⁶ rejects the identification of Irish to- with the Hittite connective; instead he adopts the view that the preposition to- is identical with with the preverb and draws a parallel with with the evidence in Germanic: Gothic du 'to, towards, against, in' does indeed function in all three roles of preposition, preverb and adverb⁷. Wagner also points out that, as in Dillon's examples from Irish, where to- always occupies the first position in verbs with more than one preverb: "Dieselbe Situation stellen wir ~~allen~~ wir

¹Gramm. 533. ²1933, 115. ³1962; 1972; cf. Watkins 1963, 21.

⁴Cf. Kronasser 1956, 153. ⁵1972, 42. ⁶1972^a. ⁷Cf. on this point Bezenberger 1873, 82 ff.

bei got. du-at-gaggan 'hinzukommen zu' (*προσέρχεσθαι τινι*); semantisch vergleiche man mit diesem Verbum altir. do-tét 'kommt' zu tét 'geht'. Wie man, angesichts dieser semantischer Opposition, von einem bedeutungslosen "connective" sprechen kann, ist mir rätselhaft.¹

How all this fits the problem at hand is not easy to evaluate. The most likely hypothesis would to me seem to be that the adverbs in this series were originally used without a prefix, i.e. as prepositions in their original role of adverb², or, in the case of denominal forms like túaid, in an appropriate case-form. There are some traces of the free use of ós, úas³. When this ceases to be regular in the case of other prepositions, túaid may have helped towards the introduction of a t-, which then may have been reidentified with to in order to allow these adverbs to conform to the morphological pattern preposition + preposition = adverb in the two other axes (s- (=fa-) and an-) of these formations. Thus, it seems possible that to-, of either origin, may have been used in this system, although there are some serious difficulties. If it was a connective, how was it reinterpreted as a preposition? If it was a preposition meaning 'to', how did it acquire the meaning 'at' in these words?

¹1972^a, 40. ²Cf. § 18 above. ³Cf. DRIA N-O-P, 162.69-76 and §§ 37 and 76 above.

Adverbs in s-

§ 91. s-, which Zeuss and Thurneysen do not seem to offer any explanations for, is by Pedersen interpreted as a "Vertreter des Demonstrativstammes +so im Ir."¹

In the forms beginning with fa-, according to him, "kann das Verbum "sein"...gesucht werden; alle diese Adverbia sind wohl eigentlich kleine Relativsätze."² This seems to me rather more unlikely than Zeuss's old explanation³ that fa is to be derived from fo 'under'.

However, O'Brien⁴ has suggested that the forms in s- and those in fa go together by deriving them all from "an original +svo, from Ind.Eur. +supo, a form parallel to +upo and cognate with Latin sub, Irish fo, Sanscrit úpa, Avestic upa, all having the general meaning of 'towards' ". This is somewhat too general: the original meaning seems to have been 'under' and where motion was implied, it was vertical motion, either 'up' or 'down'⁵. This of course suits súas 'upwards' and sís 'downwards'; +swo could have spread from these to the other forms. In support of his view, O'Brien quotes the interesting form fúas 'aloft'⁶ as well as starbúas 'in mid-air, aloft' which are to show

¹Ped.II,287. ²Ped.II,271. ³1871,612. Writing about Modern Irish, Hughes states (1970,91) that "s is replaced by a separate word ó (said to be derived from the old preposition fo) in ó thuaidh, ó dheas."

⁴1938,236. ⁵Brugmann and Delbrück 1911,912. ⁶Four Songs 10 § 8 a.

that the initial must originally have been ⁺sw-, which "would normally develop into a form beginning with s-, but under certain sentence conditions (when the preceding word originally ended in a vowel) would appear with f-".

§ 92. From the point of view of Indo-European, this explanation clashes with that of Pokorny¹ who derives the cognates of Latin sub, Irish fo etc. from ⁺upo, explaining the s- in Latin from ⁺[e]ks. On their part, Ernout and Meillet state that "mais s- initial ne se retrouve pas de manière sûre hors de l'italique, où l'on a osq. συν, ombr. su (et sub-),... Car le celtique a irl. fo, v.gall. guo-, de ⁺upo, et gaul. ⁺wer- (dans wer-tragus), de ⁺uper (irl. for-, v.bret. guor). Sans doute l'initiale de grec ὕπο, ὕπερ est ambiguë, mais on n'a pas raison d'y soupçonner un ancien fait de date indo-européenne que l'italique serait seul à conserver. En effet, on a vu, sous sine, pareille coexistence des formes avec et sans s-, ⁺sen- et ⁺en-, avec le même sens et les mêmes emplois; mais là s- apparaît en italo-celtique, en germanique et en indo-européen."² These authorities would thus seem to rule out ⁺supo outside Italic, although I do not quite see why Greek ὕπο could not have developed from such a form. Recently, however, Watkins³ has pointed out that Hittite šuppalaš

¹IEW 1106. ²1951, 1165. ³1973, 397.

'animal' is probably a cognate of Latin suppus and thus also of sub. He concludes that accordingly, "we have another language family, and the most ancient, to attest the initial s-."¹ This makes it at the very least possible and perhaps even probable that one ought to accept the existence of a Celtic *swo from Indo-European *supo. Even if the Hittite evidence is were to be ruled out, it should be noted that Celtic has at least one other case of prosthetic s- of doubtful origin, namely in the 1st and 2nd plurals of the personal pronouns, Irish sní and sí, Welsh ni and chwi from *s-nēs and *s-wēs (or *s-nī and *s-wī)². Also, various Indo-European languages show variation between forms with and without s- in many words, both forms sometimes occurring even in the same language. Hoenigswald quotes³ English melt and smelt, Greek τέγος and στέγος as examples of this, as well as Latin sub against Sanskrit úpa⁴. Bearing these facts in mind, it seems that there is some justification from the Indo-European point of view for accepting O'Brien's etymology.

§ 93. In any case, it seems to me that, whatever its origin might have been in Indo-European, an original *sw- fits the Irish facts rather well, particularly if one notes that in the two forms where it occurs regularly, fa- is pretonic, where initial s- is

¹1973, 398. ²Gramm. 282 and Morris Jones 1913, 273.

³1952, 182. ⁴Cf. also Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 727; Siebs 1904, 277 ff.; Beekes 1969, 82-7.

expected to be lost, leaving f- from w whereas otherwise w disappears after unlenited s-¹. Finally, we have to note the alternative forms sade (s(s)) 'southward',² and BCr. 33^o2 sathuaid 'northward', with s- either analogically or as a left-over from the time when the auslaut of the preceding word determined whether the initial of the adverb was s- or f-, as O'Brien³ would seem to imply the case to have been at some stage, at least with fúas 'up'. In any case, it is surely significant that the forms that occur most regularly obey the sound-laws quite consistently.

§ 94. s- and fa- are by no means the only elements to be used in this axis, i^N 'in' is also found, in illei, ille 'hither' and innunn 'to the other side',⁴. On the other hand, it is quite clear that s- (fa-) may be considered the dominant element in this part of the system, amongst other things from the fact that an analogical form sall 'over yonder' has been formed in Modern Irish. The older form anonn still exists in many dialects; Connemara has both⁵. In this connection it may be mentioned that Manx, according to Kneen⁶ has optional forms with a prefix my that apparently may be used of in any cardinal point. If this is so, the pretonic fa- of fathuaid 'to the north' and fadess 'to the south' has spread to my-hiar

¹Gramm. 111; 124. ²SG 316.33 and TBC³ .4105. ³1938, 236.

⁴Cf. § 73 above and § 97 below. ⁵GCF 216; 218. ⁶1931, 98.

'to the East' and my-heear 'to the West'. On the other hand, if twoaie and jiass really can mean the same as my-hwoaie 'to the North' and my-yiass 'to the South', this might imply analogical levelling in the opposite direction. In any case, the use of veih 'from' in what corresponds to the Irish series in an- points to a great deal of analogical levelling out and semantic reinforcements of many of these items having taken place in Manx.

Adverbs in an-

§ 95. Zeuss suggests that an- could be from an obsolete preposition "(= +ana?)"¹. Pedersen² explains it as a preposition cognate with Welsh o, ohon- 'from'. Walsh³ regards this explanation as "very improbable" and suggests "that in an- we may have the neuter article." Berghin⁴ rejects this, rallying to Pedersen's view, postulating a common origin +san- for Welsh han and Irish an-. Vendryes⁵ objects that "la forme ancienne de gall. han- est hand-... Il faudrait donc au moins pour le gallois partir d'un double préfixe (sam+de ou idhe); mais il pourrait s'agir aussi du préfixe ande-... En somme l'origine de cette particule an- en irlandais est obscure." Pokorny⁶ suggests that it might be connected with what gave Greek ἀνά etc.

¹1871,613. ²Ped.II,158. ³1912,32-3. ⁴1913,187.

⁵Lex.A-70-1. ⁶IEW 40.

and may¹ have given Celtic *an in Irish ainme, Welsh anmyned 'patience'.² Reviewing Vendryes's Lex., Marstrander³ states that "This prefix strongly recalls the Germanic postfix -an, used in the same sense, ON austan, vestan 'from the East, the West', ofan 'from above', útan 'from without'." Pokorny⁴ takes the Gothic and Old High German cognate -ana⁵ in Gothic aftana 'von hinten' Old High German obana 'von oben her' as perhaps being from "Pronominalstamm eno-... 'jener'", while Feist⁶ takes it from Indo-European -nā and compares it to Latin supernā⁷ and Sanskrit vinā 'ohne'.⁸

§ 96. On the whole, it seems to me therefore that one may assume the existence of some sort of privative-separative element (-)n(-) combined with various other ones in the individual languages, giving amongst others Latin sine, the Germanic and Sanskrit forms already mentioned as well as Pedersen's and Bergin's preposition *san 'from, without'. The following arguments seem to me to support their view. First of all, the Irish word

¹Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 798. More recently Guyonvarc'h has proposed (1966, 312), dealing with atuaid 'from the North' that "c'est littéralement 'from the north'... par la préposition a(s) 'from, out' et tuaid..." Comparison with forms like anfar 'from the West' and especially Ml. 67^d8 antuaid shows that he cannot be right.

²Morris Jones 1913, 136. ³1962, 217. ⁴IEW 321. ⁵Noreen 1904, 365.

⁶1939, 11. ⁷Cf. Thurneysen 1890, 495. ⁸Cf. Schmidt 1885, 291.

meaning 'without' is not old in this meaning: Old Irish cen 'without' originally meant 'on this side of'¹, while the word meaning 'from' and thus supplying another meaning suitable for this purpose, ó, úa² never had a consonant in it in Celtic and may thus have been felt to be unsuitable for compounding with those second elements in adverbs of place that are original prepositions and all happen (in Celtic, if not always in Indo-European) to begin with vowels. It seems not unreasonable to assume that Irish had a now lost preposition meaning 'without'. As Bergin³ points out, there is in Old Irish an adjective sain 'separate, different'. Surely this is a fully stressed development of something that also became not only an-, but also the second element in can 'whence'.

Some Second Elements

§ 97. As we have seen, the commonest second element in forming these adverbs is a preposition. Note that al, all 'on the other side of'⁴ probably gave the second part of innonn 'to the other side' and hence Modern Irish anonn with the same meaning⁵. The older forms

¹Gramm. 501. ²Cf. § 37 above. ³1913, 18. ⁴Gramm. 500.

⁵Thurneysen 1918^a, 56; Gramm. 305.

may survive in a couple of instances, i.e. TBC².3615 anall; Comp.Con C. § 6 innallaile, which Thurneysen¹ emends to innall ille 'dorthin (und) hierhin' as well as the uncertain andall². As mentioned above, anonnn³ is normal in Modern Irish, but in Western Scottish Gaelic, the corresponding word is a null 'over there, (movement)'.⁴ In spite of Pedersen's objections⁵, which Thurneysen accepts⁶, this looks rather like a survival of the form with original -ll.

¹Zu ir. Hdschr.I, 41 n.1. Cf. 1918, 410.²Stokes, ed. 1904, 242.6-7. Gramm. 305. Sg. 220^a6 indollgl. on ultra may show awareness of the etymology of this word.

³About this word Hughes (1970, 91) states: "The root -onn means 'the near side', but here there is an irregularity in the system: there is no word thonn paralleling thall - the word sonn (which should mean 'to the near side' - hence, perhaps, 'hither') is used in this sense, and anonnn, which should be 'toward the speaker from nearby', is used in the sense of sall. Perhaps the common phrase anonnn 's anall 'over and back' or 'backward and forward' (parallel to anuas 's anios 'up and down') has influenced the meaning."

Where the idea that -onn means 'the near side' comes from, I do not know; surely the irregularity in the system is better explained by taking -onn as a variant of -all. Whatever its origin may be (Cf. § 100 below) sonn 'here' certainly has nothing in common either with the s of sall or the -onn of anonnn. It would be interesting to know the source for the idea that sonn is still used in Modern Irish. Even Dinneen labels (s.v.) it "early". Note that sall is a recent analogical formation and, finally, that a more illuminating parallel to anonnn 's anall would be suas 's anuas 'up and back'.

⁴Optedal 1956, 216. The Irish form is found in Rathlin (Holmer 1942, 160) and Arran (personal communication from R.D.Clement) and perhaps elsewhere in Scotland.

⁵Ped.II, 195. ⁶1918^a, 56.

Of the remaining second elements, it is worth noting that as many as four are simple prepositions, namely úas 'above'¹, ís 'below'², air 'before, for'³ and far 'after'⁴.

§ 98. If the not altogether certain assumptions made above, positing simple prepositions or, at any rate, some element interpreted as such in the system both as first and second elements of these adverbs, are accepted, we here find a rather unusual pattern of forming adverbs (preposition + preposition = adverb) that is very characteristic of the Irish adverbs of place, which thus on the whole have a morphology all of their own⁵.

This formation is all the more interesting, since simple prepositions do not function as adverbs in Celtic⁶; I have found no instances of similar constructions in other Indo-European languages, though one does, of course, find compound prepositions used adverbially, e.g. in Greek phrases like Il. 11.486 στῇ δὲ παρέξ, Od. 14.168 ἀλλὰ παρέξ μεμνήμεθα and Il. 16.669 ἄποπρὸ λέγων⁷. The interesting difference is that, whereas in Greek the simple preposition can function as an adverb on its own, as in Il. 9.227 πέρα γὰρ μενοεικέα πόλλα, in Irish this does not occur.

¹Gramm. 527. ²Gramm. 522. ³Gramm. 498-9. ⁴Gramm. 516.

⁵Cf. § 73 above. ⁶Cf. § 35 above. ⁷These are quoted by Kühner and Gerth 1898, 528.9.

The Cardinal Point System

§ 99. Pedersen¹ has shown that two systems of cardinal point orientation exist in Irish: the basic orientation 'left = N'; 'right = S'; 'in front = E' and 'behind = W' and another that is based on the opposition 'up = S' and 'down = N'. The latter system is illustrated in Ó Bruad. I, 162 § 53 An Cnocán Ruadh so thuas ag fearthain/ is Cnoc Fírinne thíos go frasach 'To the south beside me Cnocán Ruadh is raining And to the north Cnoc Fírinne is drenched in showers'.² Note, on the other hand, that, as Campbell and Thomson³ point out, the points of the compass Hias for 'the East' and Hwas for 'the West' in Lhuyd's diaries "prove that this was spoken somewhere where the rivers ran eastwards". This seems to be normal in Scottish Gaelic. Thus Dwelly gives 'westwards' as one of the possible meanings of suas, but not 'southwards', as in Irish.

All these examples from the later language illustrate another more general point about adverbs of place, namely that from Old Irish onwards, they are very frequently lenited, regularly so in the case of those in t- and in fa-. There seem to be two instances of adverbial lenition in Wb. 26^b13 thall 'on this side' and 33^a21 thuas 'above'.⁴

¹1929, 424. ²Guyonvarc'h (1966, 319) quotes this in an attempt to prove amongst other things that the Irish never had more than one orientation, which was "désorganisée par la christianisation." I have not been able to follow him at every point.

³1963, 102. ⁴In both cases a vowel precedes, which may be significant. Cf. § 33 above.

Other Adverbs of Place

§ 100. Of the remaining adverbs of place, ille 'hither' and innonn 'thither, over there' have already been dealt with¹. De-siu 'hence' is a pronominal formation and will be discussed in that connection². Sund 'here' is unclear³. Pokorny derives it⁴ from an Indo-European *somdhe giving later sondo- and states that "Irish ist natürlich ein lokativisch verwendeter betonter Dative"⁵.

In Modern Irish sund disappears, although it is still sometimes found in Bardic poetry⁶ as well as in a late seventeenth century prose text like Párl. na mB.⁷, where it seems, however, that they may not represent contemporary usage, since the examples found are used in chapter headings, which may represent a mere copying of earlier usage.

¹§ 73 and § 94 above. ²§ 103 below. ³Gramm. 293.

⁴IEW ⁵1921,219; Cf. Ped.II,194 where a similar view is voiced.

⁶Content. I,152.1 and II,250.2; TD 42.1. Cf. Hughes 1970,91 and § 97 n. above for a probably mistaken view that sonn is found in present-day Irish.

⁷.2494,..2732,..3063 etc.

iv. Pronominal Formations

Conjugated Prepositions.

§ 101. As such conjugated prepositions fall outside the scope of this study. In a number of cases the meaning of the pronoun has become so weakened that the label "adverb" may be attached to them. A selection of this will be discussed here¹.

Thus airi (3 singular neuter of air 'before, for') occurs with meanings like 'on account of it' and hence also 'therefore'. Of al 'beyond' the only conjugated form in existence is in the adverb all(a)e 'yonder' (originally 'beyond it') which incorporates the 3rd singular neuter pronoun². It is frequent together with other adverbs of place and sometimes even forms compounds with these³, especially the ones discussed above in the section on adverbs of place⁴. Sam laid 'like it, thus' has a peculiar ending, which does not seem to be relatable to a pronoun⁵.

Gen(a)e literally 'without it' has extended its meaning in a remarkable way: the modern cheana now mostly means 'already'. The adverbial lenition in this word is regular as early as in Sg⁶; this is of course a common enough phenomenon in many adverbs⁷ and conjugated prepositions⁸.

¹Cf. Breatnach 1956, 334-7 for a more detailed discussion.

²Gramm. 500. ³DRIA A, 287.8-10. ⁴§§ 89-98 above.

⁵Gramm. 501. ⁶Cf. Thes. II, 154 n.d. ⁷Cf. § 33 above.

⁸Ped. I, 457.

In some expressions fo, foí, later fáoi 'under it' occurs in an adverbial sense, as in YBL 12^a10 cíd fó cíd for...bem/me 'whether we be beneath or above'¹, which also illustrates a similar use of for 'on, over'. íar 'after' gives the 3rd singular neuter íarum with the by-form íarma. It is normally used as an adverb with the pronominal meaning rather attenuated². In a couple of late instances íar seems to be used adverbially on its own³.

§ 102. The 3rd singular dative masculine and neuter form of i^N 'in' and, ann occurs frequently as an adverb in all stages of the language, as well in the function of conjugated preposition. Its origin is not entirely clear; it is not entirely impossible that it is an unrelated adverb that later came into the paradigm of i^{N4}. On the other hand, it seems more likely that this is not so, especially if Thurneysen is correct in stating "that a is the original vowel, especially as it is also found in Italic (e.g. an-ouhinu 'in-uito'), and that Latin endo, indu, Ir. ind- have been assimilated to the the prep. en, in."⁵ Leis 'with him, it' means 'also' in Modern Irish and has been so used as early as in the Würzburg glosses⁶.

¹Cf. further Breatnach 1956, 335-6. ²DRIA I, 23.9-31 and I, 36.33 ff.

³Cf. § 37 above. ⁴Ped. I, 247; Lejeune 1939, 390; 396.

⁵Gramm. 521. ⁶Bergin 1928, 223.

The 3rd singular neuter of eo 'at' can be used adverbially, meaning 'at it', 'on that occasion', as in Wb. 8^all manidénatar ferte occa 'unless miracles be wrought thereat'. The original 3rd singular neuter form ríam of re 'before' is used adverbially ('ever') being replaced by the form reme, remi, roime, modern roimhe as a conjugated preposition proper. In its turn this later came to be used as an adverb, and yet a new form was developed in some dialects for the conjugated preposition. Thus in South-West Kerry Irish the form roimis has replaced ríam and roimhe in the function of conjugated preposition¹ and seems to be acquiring an adverbial meaning itself².

Secha (3rd singular) and sechat (2nd singular) of sech 'past, beyond' came to be used as adverbs meaning 'away' and 'by'³. In the case of sechtair 'out' and anechtair 'from the outside', the distinction⁴ between the preposition without -i- (sechtair) and the adverb with it points, it seems to me, to the latter in origin being a 3rd singular neuter, but this cannot be altogether certain, since no other conjugated forms of the preposition are attested.

¹Sjestedt-Jonval 1938, 98. ²op.cit. 80. ³Dinneen proposes that seachad 'astray' is from seach and the 3rd plural of the copula.

⁴Cf. § 89 above.

Formations from Demonstratives

§ 103. In certain cases it might seem that a prepositional pronoun had been added to a demonstrative, as in fris sin 'moreover', 'besides', modern freisin 'also' or in tairis sin 'yet', 'nevertheless'. This could have been caused by the fact that the form with suffixed pronoun not infrequently spread to replace the simple form¹ or through wrong division of word boundaries.

Other adverbs are, however, formed with the simple form of a preposition prefixed to the demonstrative; e.g. ar se 'therefore' shows the accusative; fri-sin 'against that' the accusative and far-sin the dative². As Thurneysen has pointed out³, deisiu 'hence' (de 'from' and a dative) is in Middle Irish replaced by adfu: "Die häufige Verbindung adfu ocus anall 'hinüber und herüber' zeigt, dass es dasselbe Wort ist, nur vermehrt um a-, das es vom gegensätzlichen anall bezogen hat". Interestingly, there seems to be no modern replacement for it: it simply went out of the system. Note that there can be no doubt about its position within the system, as shown clearly by the example above and by Sg. 71^{b1} altarach .i. frie anall 'ultra i.e. on the

¹Cf. O'Rahilly, 1932, 226. ²Gramm. 303. ³1917^a, 310.

far side of it' and 71^b2 centarach .i. frie desiu
'citra i.e. on the near side of it'.

Pronouns can occasionally be found adverbially without a preposition; consider the dative siu 'at this time' and the dative or accusative sin 'there', 'here'¹. Also, cid 'even' may, if Vendryes is right², represent the neuter nominative/accusative of the stressed form of the interrogative. However, it cannot be discounted that some form of the copula may have been assimilated with it³.

¹Gramm. 162,303. ²1906,279. ³Gramm. 484,489; cf. Vendryes 1906,287.

v. A Few Problematical Formations

§ 104. In the preceding sections it will have become clear, I hope, that Irish presents many interesting riddles for the linguist to try to solve. Here a few samples are given together for no better reason than the fact that no more suitable classification for them was found in the preceding sections.

Thus there is MI. 19^b4 cedacht 'yet' used after negated verb verbs, about which DRIA¹merely says that it is "variously spelt" and that "orig. form and origin" are "uncertain". On the face of it it looks like a compound of cíd 'even' or 'quid' and 'acht 'provided that, but'. On the other hand, the semantic development would in that case be rather difficult to account for.

About the mysterious MI. 18^d10 iarmiciníar and Sg. 218^b1 iar miciníar used as glosses on antea, I can offer nothing to add to Stokes's comment: "The formation of this adverb is obscure to me."²

The history of Modern Irish amháin 'only' is not clear. Pedersen³ derives it from Old Irish namma 'only', 'merely', itself a petrified phrase consisting of "na-n-má, ut non sit magis?"⁴. Pedersen's view is disputed by Vendryes, who prefers to take it from amein⁵.

¹C, 96.38. ²1899, 479. ³Ped. I, 165. ⁴Zeuss 1871, 614. ⁵Lex. A, 66; cf. also §§ 43-4 above.

PART III. SYNTAX

Introduction

§ 105. As noted in Part I¹, the designation of certain features specifically to the morphology of adverbs and of others to their syntax is by no means easy. In particular, this will be seen in the case of the discussion of adverbs with or without go. On the one hand, it could be said that since go and the following adjective form one single stress unit and make up one syntactic major constituent like e.g. some of the prepositional phrases discussed in Part II², they should be dealt with under the heading of morphology. On the other hand, it could be argued, firstly, that (at any rate in the modern language) go and the adjective are spelt as two separate words and secondly and more importantly that in some, but not all cases, the choice of whether go is used or not is a syntactic one, i.e. it is dictated by other syntactic elements in the phrase: this seems to be the case in the Bardic language, at any rate.

Word order has been much discussed by language typologists, though the question of where adverbials as such go has not featured quite as prominently as that of the relative positions of verb, subject and object. As we know it, Irish is consistently verb-initial (or rather predicate-initial³), though remnants

¹§ 13 above. ² §§ 65-83 above. ³Cf. Ahlqvist 1972, 271.

survive of what may have been the norm earlier, namely verb-final position; again all predicates, both verbal and nominal ones, are in final position¹. Adverbials normally come after other constituents, and, as in other languages, they have a tendency to be ordered in a certain sequence.

§ 106. Some classes of adverbs quite naturally occur only either with certain forms of verbs or with verbs of a certain meaning. These constraints, however, do not always correspond exactly in all languages. Thus, it will be shown that, in the earlier language, within the system of verbs and adverbs of movement the 'provenance' ("ablative") set seems to be normally used only with one class of verbs. whereas the 'goal' ("allative") set is used indifferently with both these sets. Later this changes: firmer rules seem to determine what adverbs occur with what verbs. However, all this is by no means easy to establish firmly: given recorded instances of any particular usage, it can then be laid down that that usage does occur, whereas the opposite cannot really be proven simply by the researcher stating that he knows of no such instances. Therefore, assumptions about any particular usage NOT being part of the language remain wide open to future correction.

¹Cf. Henry 1966, 106 and Wagner 1967, 289 ff.

§ 107. This remark applies very much to what seems to be one rather interesting feature of Irish, namely the absence of so-called "sentence adverbs". As Greenbaum¹ points out, there is not much agreement about exactly which items belong here, but if one accepts the definition that sentence adverbs are such as can be paraphrased as a sentence, some observations may be made. Greenbaum puts it² that examples like (1) Strangely, he answered the questions and (2) He answered the questions strangely are equivalent to (1b) It is strange that he answered the questions and (2b) He answered the questions in a strange manner. It seems to me that in Modern Irish, the only idiomatic rendering of (1) would be of a form similar to that of (1b), i.e. Is aisteach gur thug sé freagra ar na ceisteanna³. In this case, a sentence adverb (at least one identical in form with an adverb of manner) seems quite of the question, but whether or not there may be other other cases, where an adverbial (as apart from a conjunction like ach 'but') qualifies a whole sentence, not just the predicate in it, one would hesitate to state categorically, although it seems reasonable to exclude from such a category any of the

¹1969,2. ²1969-6-7. ³Literally: 'it's strange that he gave answer to the questions'.

examples discussed in this work. Wagner notes the same thing, but does not commit himself as to whether "sentence adverbs" can or cannot occur in Irish¹.

Finally, note again² the distinction between sentence and phrase syntax, which underlies the main classification made in this part. As far as this concerns adverbials, it determines whether they may be said to occur as predicate qualifiers in a description of sentence syntax or qualifying other elements within a phrase that itself may occur as major constituent in a sentence.

¹1959, 222: "Der verbale Charakter des Irischen äussert sich auch in den Adverbien, die oft praediziert erscheinen, wo "nominalere" Sprachen "attributive" Adverbien aufweisen. Beispiele: is deárthach ná raibh mórán slí bheatha aige (Munster) 'wahrscheinlich besass er nicht viel zum leben'".

²Cf. § 12 above.

i. Sentence Syntax

Generalities

§ 108. In this section¹ an aperçu is given of how Irish adverbials behave as qualifiers of predicates, or in other words, of their role as major constituents in sentence syntax². This represents their main and perhaps, as ancient grammarians would have³ it, their primary function in language. To call adverbs predicate qualifiers does, however, not only entail looking at those elements that occur as major constituents in a sentence on par with subjects and objects; also, Irish has cases where adverbs form one syntactic group together with a verb⁴.

Finally, one limitation, which may feel somewhat artificial, has been imposed: adverbs functioning as conjunctions have not, on the whole, been dealt with. This follows naturally, I hope, from the decision⁵ taken not to deal with higher levels than that either of a simple sentence per se or of a clause as such,, i.e. disregarding the fact that a clause may form part of a more complex structure.

¹§§-108-170. ²Cf. §§ 12 and 107 above. ³Cf. § 15 above.

⁴Cf. § 88 above and § 136 below. ⁵Cf. § 25 above.

Irish Word-Order

§ 109. From the period of the Old Irish glosses on to the present day, word-order in Irish can be said to be at least partly fixed, with the verb first, sometimes preceded in all stages of the language by preverbal particles more or less closely bound to it¹. This may be illustrated in a few sentences from various stages of the language from Cambr. 246.2-3 fogeir a n-ggalar in uile corp 'the disease inflames the whole body' (c. 770) and Sg. 191^a3 docuirethar cétna persan sin persana aili chuce 'a first person here takes other persons to it' (c. 845) down to sentences in the modern languages like Scottish Gaelic Chunnaic iad an latha so duine a' dol seachad an rathad 'This day they saw a man going past on the road'²; Manx chlash yn naunt yn sheean, as roie ee gva bun ny greeishyn 'The aunt heard the noise, and she ran to the bottom of the stairs'³ and Connaught (Connemara) Irish ní fhaic tú aonduine ar an mbóthar an uair sin? 'you didn't see anyone on the road at that hour?'⁴.

§ 110. On the other hand, other constituents of a sentence may be brought forward for emphasis, thereby forming a separate clause introduced by the (sometimes

¹Cf. e.g. Gramm. 327 and passim; Mac Cana 1973, 94; Dottin 1913, 237 ff.; Sjöstedt-Jonval 1938, 160; 114; Holmer 1938, 110-1; Finck 1899, 205-6.

²Oftedal 1956, 265.26. ³Jackson 1955, 135.14 ⁴GCF 68.4.

omitted) copula, which serves to keep the basic word-order predicate first in these sentences too.

It will be noted that the main verb in the second clause may or may not undergo various changes (addition in some cases of relative markers, such as special endings, infixed or prefixed particles and/or an initial mutation as the phonetic realisation thereof); these obey varieties of sets of rules in different historical stages and modern dialect variations of the language. This will be discussed in more detail below¹.

§ 111. In early poetry and archaic prose another type of word-order may be found. The main feature of this is that the verb comes at the end of the sentence, always in the conjunct form and if a compound verb with its first preverb at the beginning of the clause, i.e. in tmesis. Conjunctions and negative particles in these clauses are prefixed to a "meaningless"² form of the copula. The tmesis can be given their later normal word-order simply by moving the verb, unlike those involving simple verbs, where the flexion would change from conjunct to absolute. Apart from the position of the verb itself, however, the internal ordering of other constituents probably does not

¹ §§ 120-135. ² Cf. Gramm. 327 and Bergin 1938^a, 197 ff. and the arguments against in Wagner 1967, who maintains (303) that the copula here is not "meaningless". Cf. Mac Eoin (1969, 190) on this point.

differ much from ^{that} in normal verb-initial sentences, especially since the word-order of Old Irish is fairly free once the verb is in its proper place.

Adverbials in Relation to Other Constituents

§ 112. Apart from the rules laid down about the place of the predicate in Old Irish, one may on the whole agree with Vendryes¹ that "Pour les autres parties de la phrases, il n'y a pas d'ordre fixe". Some examples from the glosses will confirm this. Wb. 13^d7 beoigidir inspirut incorn infectso 'the spirit now quickens the body' shows the later more or less normal pattern of predicate + subject + object + adverbial. On the other hand, one not infrequently finds some adverbials, especially those of a connective nature like immurgu 'yet' dano 'then' trá 'now, therefore, then'² coming immediately after the predicate as in MI. 56^b15 ...7 dungenat immurgu innadualchi... '& that, however, they will practise the vices'. But this may affect other kinds of adverbials too, as in Wb. 19^b6 ropridchad dúib céssad crist 'Christ's Passion hath been preached to you'. This may well fall under Vendryes's statement³ "Le choix entre ces deux ordres peut être déterminé par la longueur respective d'une

¹1908, 305. ²Cf. Gramm. 560, 557 and 557+8 respectively.

³1908, 306.

sujet et du régime;" That this is not entirely restricted to shorter words is shown by an example like ML. 30^a3 ba hitemul dughnith saul conamuntair intleda 7 erelca friduaid 'it was in darkness that Saul with his people used to make snares and ambushes against David'. This is, however, a matter of interpretation; it might be argued that conamuntair is in fact a complement to saul, therefore part of a noun phrase functioning as subject in the sentence.

§ 113. Two examples will show the rather free sort of word-order found in the sagas: SC².191 nífrecart Labraid béus 'Labraid did not answer her yet' and .204 Níro recart béus Labraid 'Labraid has not yet answered'.

For Middle Irish Dottin¹ states the rule: "L'ordre ordinaire est verbe, sujet, objet: gabaid ferg in rig desin 'la colère s'empara du roi là-dessus', tucsat na Cristaige and-sin Siluestar as in carcair co suba 'les Chrétiens tirèrent alors Silvestre de la prison avec joie'.

For the sake of completeness, it may be added that in Modern Irish, adverbials normally come after other major constituents as in Shín Donnchadh an leitiy don diabhal 'Donnchadh showed the letter to the devil'.²

¹1913,237. ²Wagner 1959^a,284.25.

§ 114. In Old Irish independent pronouns do not occur either in subject or object position¹; thus the question of how they affect the place in the sentence of adverbials does not arise.

The later language often puts a pronominal object and sometimes (in Middle Irish²) even a subject at the very end of the sentence, but this is not an absolute rule. Dottin gives the following examples³: ro-thidnaic a-m lamaib-si thú 'elle t'a mis en mes mains' and ro-héted iarsin o étach lín gil he 'il fut ensuite revêtu de toile blanche' against ro-tusmed hi do-n t-shollsi 'elle fut engendrée de la lumière éthérée'.

From Classical Modern Irish one might quote na léig inn a ccathughadh, achd saor inn o ole 'do not let us in temptation, but free us from evil'⁴ against Keat.II.990-1 gur mharbh caor theintighe san leith thoir don Fhraince láimh le sliabh Alpa é 'lightning killed him (=é) in the east of France, beside the Alp mountains'.

¹Cf. Gramm. 254-5; DRIA, E, 5.10.20; I, 9.37-50; 39.83-40.10; M, 72.71-73.9; T, 330.62-75. Strachan (1904, 76): states: "In SR I have noted no examples. In the eleventh century MS. LU it is already common in the later and more popular texts."

²Cf. Dillon, ed. 1932, 46.20 ro baf immuigh hf 'she was away'. Cf. op.cit. 64 for a collection of instances, to which may be added BD § I.5-6 do-raten ri Colum Cille sf 'it pleased Columba'.

³1913, 208, from PH .2708; .470 and .1979.

⁴O'Donnell, Matth. 6, 13. Note that this is a translation.

This tendency is a feature of the modern language, as in Do thug fear an chapail leis go dí n-a thig féin e 'the man with the horse took him (=e) with him to his own house'¹ and (for Scottish Gaelic) Sgaoil mi machaanns a' ghréin iad 'I spread them out in the sun'². In Manx we find Noo Ean ch.9 v.11 hug eh rish my hooillyn eh 'he put it on my eyes', about which Thomson³ observes: "a phrase intervenes before the objective pronoun. This is frequent but not inevitable in Manx."

§ 115. Noting the normal word-order of Modern Irish as verb, subject, object and other complements, Pinck⁴ lists three exceptions where adverbials do not come after the object: "a) mit präpositionen verbundene substantiva oder pronomina, wenn das verbum ein imperativ; b) ausdrücke, die als notwendig zum verbum gehörig, mit diesem einen einzigen begriff bildend empfunden zu werden scheinen; c) adverbiale ausdrücke, zumal solche der art, auf die ein besonderer nachdruck gelegt wird." Amongst the examples given for these three cases one might quote for a) tabhair dhom iasacht do ráisúir! 'Lend me your razor'⁵, for b)

¹Jackson, ed. 1968, 25.27-8. Cf. further Pinck 1899 § 539; Sommerfelt 1965, 258-9 and Holmer 1938, 111.

²Oftedal 1956, 275.29. ³1951, 269 (with further examples).

⁴1899, 210. ⁵For practical reasons I have given these sentences in a standard orthography, not in Pinck's phonetic transcription.

an dtugann tú uait iasacht do sgine? 'Verleihst du dein messer?' and for c) d'aithin mé go héasca é 'Mit leichtigkeit erkannte ich ihn'. All three examples given for case c) involve pronouns. It is therefore more than probable that they are the reason for the word-order being what it is. Emphasis is usually expressed in quite a different way.

Adverbials in Relation to Each Other

§ 116. In the glosses, it is not very easy to lay down definite rules for the internal word-order in sequences of adverbials. There may be a tendency¹ to put time adverbials last as in Wb. 14^d28 amminéulig and tra indorsa 'so we are acquainted with him now' and Wb. 15^c25 ni imdianbter ainech and octabirt coibsen allae sin 'no person will be protected there in giving confession on that day'². But counter-examples can be found. Thus Sg. 215^a6 biit remsuidigthi huaraiþ cenbriathra leo 'there are sometimes prepositions without verbs by them'³ has a time adverbial followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by cen 'without'. If the normal (= "unmarked") Old Irish word-order in fact made adverbials of time come last one might explain these counter-examples either through considerations of

¹As in English; "where adjuncts cluster in E position, the normal order is process-place-time" (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1972, 506).

²Cf. Wb. 3^c13; 4^a8; 12^c35; 31^d14; Ml. 16^c5; 60^a9; Sg. 26^b7; 215^a5; Thes. II, 242.19.

³Cf. Ml. 114^b16.

length¹, euphony, clarity or the like or else by defining the part of the sentence that is introduced by cen as "virtually the equivalent of a subordinate clause"². A full-scale investigation of the material that is relevant to this question would be required before anything more than these tentative suggestions can be stated.

§ 117. The evidence given by the saga-texts is, when their characteristic brevity of locution gives one satisfactory examples, ^{just as} ~~similarly~~ inconclusive as that provided by the glosses. In this case one also has to take into account the literary character of this type of prose, which, however, is probably more than set off by the (Latin-inspired) artificiality found in the glosses. In SCano .366 'Nocho tibar dom aire a fecht-sa 'I shall take no heed from now on' the adverbial of time comes last³, whereas in Fing.R. .511 Buí Cormac matan moch fecht and i Cenannas iar ngabáil ríge 'Cormac was in Kells an early morning once upon a time after assuming sovereignty' both time adverbials come directly after the subject and before the other adverbials⁴.

¹Dottin 1913,237: "le plus court précède le plus long".

²Gramm. 546; cf. PCr. 62^a2 ní impersonale infechtsa iar tormuch inpronominis 'it is not impersonale this time after adding the pronomes'.

³Cf. Sc.M.² § 17 and Airne F.10. ⁴Cf. Fing.R. 982 and SC² .76.

§ 118. In Middle Irish one finds examples like PH .4403 do'n imrim rigda, ruc Ieu leis is in domnach indiu do Ierusalem 'of the royal entrance Jesus made into Jerusalem corresponding to the present Sunday' against .4477-8 amal tanic, Ieu co hIerusalem is-sin is-sin domnach indiu 'as Jesus came to Jerusalem on the day corresponding to the present Sunday'. The later classical language has similar features: Keat. II.4014 ff. shows the same contrast as the two passages from PH: agus is uime do gairthí Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar dhe tré fheabhas na mbreath do beirthí ré n-a linn. Is é iomorro reacht do orduigh Feidhlimidh ré n-a linn féin samhail an dligidh dá ngairtheas i Laidin *lex talionis* 'and he was called F.R. through the excellence of the legal judgments delivered in Ireland in his time. Now, the law F. ordained in his own time resembled the law which is called in Latin *lex talionis*.' Here, a slight indication, I think, of what the normal ("unmarked") word-order might be like is perhaps given by the fact that in the second clause the time adverbial is given some extra stress anyway by the addition of féin 'own'. If this were to be substantiated by a large number of other examples, it might be possible for Irish that adverbials of time normally come last in a sequence of such constituents.

§ 119. In the modern language the situation does not seem substantially different. A preliminary examination of sentences of Connemara Irish show some possible patterns. Adverbials of time are often preceded by others. The examples GCF 201.y-z D'fheicfeá níos minicí anuraidh é 'you'd see him more often last year'; GCF 202.19 bhí siad mar sin go maidin 'they were like that till morning'; GCF 210.20 tiocfaidh muid soir ar ball 'we'll come east presently' and GCF 215.6 bhí sé sa mbaile ó ló 'he was at home in the daytime' show how adverbials of frequency, manner, direction and place precede ones of time. This tendency¹ is not without exceptions. Thus one finds sentences like bhí Domhnall ó Conaill uair amháin i Sasana 'Daniel O'Connell was once in England'², which contrasts with GCF 214.29-30 an rabh tú i nGaillimh le goirid? 'were you in Galway recently?'³. Note the final position of ann (literally: 'in it') in GCF 212.z is dóigh nach mbeidh sé faoi láthair ann 'it's likely that he won't be there now at present'⁴.

There may be a connection between the final position of conjugated prepositions and that of pronouns⁵, but on

¹Cf. Ó Searcaigh 1939,252 and Sommerfelt 1965,258.

²De Bhaldraithe 1945,73.1; Cf. GCF⁴209.26.

³Cf. GCF 213.21. ⁴Cf. de Bhaldraithe 1945,73.19; 75.24; 77.9; GCF 214.25-6.

⁵Sommerfelt 1965,259: "There is the same tendency to place a preposition with its pronominal ending after a complement."

the other hand, it should be remembered that verbs and prepositions closely connected to them often form idioms which tend to counteract the tendency mentioned. Sommerfelt mentions examples like tháinig siad orthu thiar i gConnachta 'they overtook them west in Connaught'.¹

Preposed Adverbials in Old Irish

§ 120. In what follows I shall only concern myself with cases of the (sometimes omitted) copula being used for preposing a constituent for emphasis before the main verb in sentences that otherwise would have only one verb, i.e. structures that are reducible to simple sentences if the focus or emphasis on one of the constituents is removed. This sort of turn of phrase is found quite widely in Western European languages, notably so in English. In few of them does it seem to be quite as old as in Irish. This had led some scholars, Dottin² and Beckman³ amongst them, to assume that a Celtic substratum might have been at work to cause this in these languages. This question cannot be discussed here at any satisfactory length, but it must be noted that, according to Löfstedt⁴, its origin might be sought in Latin phrases like Cic.fin. I § 47 Temperantia est enim, quae in rebus aut expetendis aut fugiendis

¹1965, 259: from Sommerfelt's phonetic transcription.

²1920, 78. ³1934, 42. ⁴1966.

ut rationem sequamur, monet. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that this was used in Latin to emphasize elements other than subject or object¹, whereas in Irish, the copula is often used to predicate and emphasized adverbial.

The various relative particles involved etc. will not be much discussed². On the other hand it will be relevant to note when the verb itself takes the relative form and what happens to the copula itself, since there are cases where this depends on the nature of the preposed constituent.

§ 121. In Old Irish most adverbials preposed for emphasis are clearly distinguished from other constituents so placed by forming what Thurneysen³ calls a "formally independent clause", that is, the verb is not relative.⁴ The distinction is clearly shown in a pair of sentences like Ml. 54^d 4 nidu ucht etaig asbeir heremias inso 'it is not of the bosom of a garment that Jeremias says this' with a non-relative verb and Wb. 10^b 13 ithésidi asmber síis 'these things are what he mentions below', where relativity is marked by nasalisation.

Note also the distinction between simple sentences where no constituent is preposed and ones where something has been brought forward. Thus ~~we may compare~~

¹Art.cit. 271. ²Cf. Bergin in the glossary to TSh. 361; Ó Searcaigh 1940 and Ó Buachalla 1962.

³Gramm. 320. ⁴Cf. also Vendryes 1908, 307-8.

emphatic Wb. 26^d19 ismór indethiden file domsa diibsi
 'great is the solicitude that I have for you' and
Ml. 101^c6-7 ISSI ciall gaibes in testimin so corici
 aliter 'this is the sense which this text utters as
 far as aliter'¹ may be contrasted with non-emphatic
 sentences like Wb. 32^a5 attá alansa asatredsa 'I
 have this peculiarity' and Ml. 64^c12 gaibid mod
nargumint 'it takes the fashion of an argument' where
 the verbal forms are quite different, i.e. non-
 relative ones against the relative ones in the two
 preceding emphatic sentences. On the other hand,
 emphatic Wb. 21^c19 isocprecept soscéli attó 'it is
 teaching the gospel I am' and Wb. 6^a13 arisdothabirt díglae
berid inclaideb sin 'for it is to inflict punishment
 that he bears that sword' have the same non-relative
 verbal forms as non-emphatic Wb. 26^d17 ató occombáig
friss 'I am contending with Him' and Wb. 29^b9 berid
cách brith forarele 'each gives judgment on the other'.

Thus, the general pattern in Old Irish would seem
 to be that, whereas preposed adverbials do not take a
 relative verb, a preposed subject does so, either with
 a special form of the verb, as in file 'that is' (against
attá 'is') and gaibes ('that takes' (against gaibid
 'takes')), or with a mutation, as in asंबर 'that he

¹Cf. Stories fr. Fáin 11.18 in gaisced gaibes in gilla
 'is it arms that the lad takes?' (=TBC².562= LU .5050-1).

says' (against asbeir 'he says'); this is a case of nasalisation, but lenition is also possible as in Wb. 11^d1 ished inso nocharigur itossuch 'it is this which I reprimand at first. These examples show that if the antecedent is an object, the mutation may take the form of either nasalisation or lenition, if it is a subject, on the other hand, only lenition occurs, where the verb has no special relative ending¹.

§ 122. The situation is not essentially very different if the verb is negated, as a few examples will show. Thus Wb. 14^c40 is ar airochísecht dúibsi nidechudsa cucuib statim 'it is for the sake of sparing you that I sent to you not statim' has the copula with an adverbial before the negative ní that introduces a non-relative verb². Consider the non-emphatic TBC³ .23 Ocus ní dechadsa 'And I have not gone'. On the other hand Thes. II, 294.28 is crann crín · nad déni thoil ind ríg thuass 'he is a withered tree, whose doth not the will of the King above' and Wb. 5^c2 isdreecht díib nadrochreit 'it is a portion of them that have not believed' contrast with the non-emphatic Wb. 12^c9 ní denim gnímu macthi 'I do no childish deeds' and ML. 90^c22 nírochreifeet bás dia díchtin 'they have not believed that death could come to them' which have the non-relative negative ní as against the relative nád in the preceding sentences.

¹Gramm. § 494. ²Gramm. 538.

§ 123. Some elements, which if translated into English would be interpreted as adverbials, take the relative form of the verb, as does maith 'well' in Wb. 28^b32 arndip maith nairlethar amuntir 'that it be well that he cares for his people'. This type is brought together by Thurneysen¹ with ones where "the antecedent designates the manner or degree of the content of the relative clause": as in Wb. 14^d15 issí méit insin donindnggar indithnad 'that is the extent to which the consolation is bestowed'. In the case "(c) When the antecedent is the verbal noun ~~is the verbal noun~~ of the verb of the relative sentence, a very common idiom"² the preposed element is certainly an "internal object"³ and it may be best to interpret maith n- above in a similar way, thereby keeping apart the two main types of preposing for emphasis, the one involving a direct object or subject and the other an adverbial proper.

Now consider Thurneysen's case "(d) When the antecedent supplies the concept that constitutes the predicative nominative of the relative clause. Examples: cíd drúailnide m-bes chechtar in da rann 'though each of the two parts be corrupt' Sg. 202^b3; plebs dei asndan. berthe-ni '(it is) plebs dei that we are called' ML. 114^a7ⁿ4. These could be interpreted in a similar way as preposed predicatives in the nominative/accusative

¹Gramm. § 498. ²Gramm. § 499. ³Humbert 1960, 260-3.

⁴Gramm. § 500.

neuter. Pedersen's explanation, favoured by Watkins¹, of the nasalising relative clause would seem to hold for all of these: "Das relative n ist weiter nichts als das gewöhnliche eklipse-n, d.h. ist der ursprüngliche auslaut eines vorgehenden wortes."² And so it surely does in Thurneysen's case "(e) Optionally (in place of a leniting relative clause, § 494) when the antecedent is felt as the object of the verb of the relative clause. Examples: it hé sídī as·n̄-ber sí 'it is these (things) that he mentions below' Wb. 10^b13; dun chách n̄-gaibde 'to everyone they seize' Ml. 76^a16."³

§ 124. The rule stated by Thurneysen⁴ that "An adverb formed from the dative of the adjective cannot be used in periphrasis with the copula before its clause, like other parts of speech" is not without exceptions, as shown by Wb. 2^a4 is indil asferr iudeus 'it is greatly that Judaeus is better' quoted by him himself⁴ as an exception, where "the construction seems un-Irish". Also, Ml. 30^a3 ba infortgidiu 7 ba hitemul dugnith saul conamuntair intlede 7 erelca friduaid⁵ 'it was covertly and it was in darkness that Saul with his people used to make snares' as well as Ml. 78^c1

¹1963,29 n.3. ²1899,396. ³Gramm. § 501. ⁴Gramm. 240.

⁵Note, however, that the manuscript reading is im-fortgidiu (Cf. Thes.I,63 n. c and Best,ed.1936,30^a, before line 34 of the Latin text) which makes little sense: firstly, im normally governs the accusative; secondly, it is not otherwise found to form adverbs from adjectives.

intuailngigthid fortéissiu 'deigningly aid' show this, the latter perhaps slightly less clearly, since the copula is, as so often happens, omitted, also, unlike the previous example, this one might be explained as a Latin-inspired anacolouthon: the gloss is on Latin dignanter adnuito, which probably should read adiuta¹. In ML. 30^a3 the verb is either non-relative or in an lenited relative form, whereas in Wb. 78^c1 it could be either non-relative or in a nasalised relative form²; therefore it seems possible to assume that both these are non-relative, as one might expect. On the other hand, in Wb. 2^a4, the second copula is definitely relative. In any case, note that the copula is found predicating adverbs in ind in sentences where there is only one predicate, i.e. in ones where no emphasis is intended³. Interestingly, in the two instances where adverbs in ind occur in PH they are preposed, as in .3605 is in mor-mo dlige in sollamain-si 'it is much more that this festival deserves'⁴.

Preposed Adverbials in Later Irish

§ 125. To begin with, it will be seen that in the later language adverbs in co can be preposed with the copula, as in PH .6040 co ru-b co céen-duthracatath do-s-bera do neoch ecin aile 'that it may be willingly that he may give it to someone else'⁵. Later this seems

¹DRIA T, 335.40. ²Gramm. 147. ³Cf. § 137 below.

⁴Cf. .3369, § 62 above and § 138 below.

⁵Cf. .5802, 4930, 6029 and .2209.

to recede out of sight, and Ó hEodhasa's grammar states explicitly that go is used only after verbs and not before them¹. I know of no examples from Bardic Irish to contradict this. On the other hand, preposed go... may occasionally be found in the modern language, as the following examples show: Q 1002 ní go minic a thagann sé 'It isn't often that he comes'. At this point (Point 27 in LASI) the informant was "by no means fluent in Irish"². The same applies to Point 61, where go hannamh a thigeann sé was elicited, with the copula omitted, as it is in the answer at Point 69 go hannamh a tharann sé tí seo againne '(it's) seldom he reaches this house of ours', where the informants were equally fluent in both languages³. Instances without go like the answer at Point 28 ní minic a thagann sé 'it isn't often he comes' are, on the other hand, rather more numerous⁴.

Finally, it should be observed that except for those mentioned immediately above, there seem not to be any important restrictions on what kinds of adverbials actually may be preposed and thus, in the following sections we can go back to examine what happens to the verb and the copula in these sentences.

¹RGH .1818 ff. "Omnia nomina adjectiva duplici modo fiunt adverbialia; primo per adiectionem articuli gu, ut gu maith et huiusmodi non praecedunt sed sequuntur verba; secundo, quando absolute praecedunt verba eorundem significationem modificantia, ut olo fuair..."

²LASI I p. xii B ³LASI I p. xiv C ⁴Cf. points 1,4,5,7-17, 19-25,33,54,55,62,68,74,74a,78,83,86,b,f,g. Note, also, that adverbs in go are predicated by the copula where emphasis is not intended, as in GCF 209.23 is go hannamh é and 215.x is go tanaf é 'it's seldom'.

§ 126. Tracing the development of these structures into the modern languages, we shall see that the later language has a relative¹ form of the verb in cases where Old Irish had none: the emphasized adverbial will take a relative main verb. On the other hand, sentences with emphasized subjects and objects remained syntactically unchanged, in spite of important changes in the verbal morphology. Thus, it will, on the whole, be possible to concentrate on dealing with emphasized adverbials.

First of all two possible early exceptions to the rule established for Old Irish must be discussed. One finds that ACC § 11 is nu nad mair 'tis lately that he lives not' might be taken as genuine instance of rather early Irish and nu as the old Indo-European adverb², not as a preposed neuter adjective³. On the whole, the latter does, however, seem somewhat more⁴ likely, but the possibility that nu is an adverb and the relative nad therefore an early forerunner of later usage cannot be altogether discounted.

¹As Cecile O'Rahilly has pointed out (1968, 159) it also happens that "the verb is introduced by co", as in PH .3053 Is re Petur sainrud co n-epert leu na briathra-sa 'it is to Peter in particular that Jesus said these words.'

²Lex. N, 23 and §§17 n. and 34 above. ³Cf. arndio maith n- and §§ 86, 123 above and 136 below.

⁴Note that DRIA (N, 66.29) takes this nu from the adjective nua, nue 'new' as well as the v.l. nua mentioned ACC 160 n. 13.

A poem in praise of Colum Cille seems to contain a somewhat better foreshadowing of the later usage. Thus, in far sin is fair fil mo ráith 'after that my guarantee rests on him'¹, the normal Old Irish usage would of course have been is fair attá mo ráith. This is metrically impossible. On the other hand, one should perhaps not discount the possibility that fil here represents an absolute non-relative use of this verb; this is found elsewhere², but I know of no exact parallel: usually absolute fil means 'there is'.

In the later glosses there are some examples of preposed adverbials taking a relative verb, as for instance in ML. 64^a13 ní fris ruchét 'it is not with reference to it that it has been sung' and Sg. 45^b19 is do thucad an una 'for this it is that the una has been put'³.

§ 127. Dottin⁴ gives no clear indications on this point for Middle Irish, but a clear instance of the modern type is shown in Trip.² .408-9 7 is a fognam bias a síl 7 a semen tre bithu 'and in bondage will his offspring and his seed abide for ever'. The same text contains examples of the older type still preserved, as

¹Kelly, ed. 1973, § 23d. ²Cf. about this word Gramm. § 780; DRIA A,467.30 and especially Watkins 1969,168.

³Cf. Gramm. 320; Cecile O'Rahilly 1968,159 n.; Lewis and Pedersen 1937,142 n. 1 and Ped. I,467, Ann. 1.

⁴1913.

in .813 is isin port biéid 'in that place shall it abide' and in .855-6 is airi ní hairdeiro in Fergus 'it is therefore this Fergus is not renowned' with non-relative forms of the substantive verb (as against bías 'that will be' above) and the negative copula.

In the later language, the relative verb after a preposed adverbial seems quite regular, as in PH .7356 is do'n ere cetna labras Heremias fáid is-in sechtmad caindel fichit 'it is of this burden Jeremiah speaks in the twenty-seventh chapter'.¹ Other changes took place in the relative system of Irish. There could be a connection between the introduction of relative forms of the verb after emphasized adverbials and the fact that atá came to replace fil(e) as 3rd singular present indicative relative of the substantive verb², thus leaving (in this verb only) no distinction between the verbal forms of phrases like Trip.² .999 7 is airi attá attoibad inna cille fri alaili 'and it is therefore there is dependence of one church on another'³ on the one hand and .532-3 Is eisode attá hi Sleibti indiu 'it is he who is in Sleibte today'⁴. What would have been the Old Irish pattern of .532-3 survives in .842 Is he fil hi nDruimm 'It is they that are in Druimm'⁵. On the other hand,

¹Cf. PH .7358, 6239, 1211, 4178, 4251 etc. ²Cf. Ó Máille 1912, 31, corrected as to the chronology by Mulchrone 1927, 78.

³Cf. .1904, 1905, 2241. ⁴Cf. .882 and 1041. ⁵Cf. .2584.

it should be remembered that Irish always had a relative form of the verb in nasalising relative clauses, some of which were introduced by conjunctions of a rather adverbial character¹. It is possibly not without importance that even in Old Irish "A nasalizing relative clause can be replaced by a formally independent (i.e. principal) clause in almost every instance"², and that in late Old Irish leniting relative clauses sometimes occur where nasalising ones might have been expected³.

§ 128. After the change-over to the use of relative verbal forms after emphasized adverbials had been carried through, things do not change much in Ireland. The fifteenth-century CF².672 (CF.470) is orai bh-se bhias a fholtanas 'it is upon you that the blame will be'⁴ is not significantly different from what occurs either in Middle Irish or in the Modern Irish of today, as shown in a sentence like is air bhias Lá Nodlag 'it's on it Christmas Day will be'⁵. Other dialects differ in only one aspect worth noting. As O'Rahilly⁶ notes, "the special relative endings have in quite recent times been discarded in Munster Irish."⁶

¹Gramm. 316 ff. ²Gramm. 319. ³Gramm. 320. ⁴Cf. also Keat. II.5123 and TSh.3615 and .3877-8.

⁵Mhac an Fhailigh 1968,67.7. ⁶1932,219.

LASI¹ gives some idea of how these forms are distributed, although I doubt whether the non-occurrence in some places outside Munster of special relative endings in the phrase used in the questionnaire, should be taken to imply that these forms do not occur at all in the dialects of these localities.

§ 129. To what has been said in the precedings section it might be objected that not all preposing in Modern Irish takes place with the use of the copula. That is to say, sentences of the type Madramhlacht mná go bráth ní rachaidh ar gcúl 'boldness of women for ever it won't recede'². The main verb is not relative here, but on the other hand, the copula is not and probably cannot be used in a case like this, which is to be classified as some sort of anacolouthon. Also, note that both the subject and an adverbial are preposed in this sentence, whereas, with the copula, only one of them could have been used in this way. Furthermore, and perhaps most important of all, the meaning of the sentence has not changed in the same way as would that of an emphatic sentence with the copula, compared to a normal verb-initial sentence.

¹I, 229.

²Mhac an Fhailigh 1968, 71.82.

§ 130. If only part of the adverbial is brought forward, i.e. if part of the syntactic constituent is left behind, the verb in an affirmative sentence will undergo certain changes: GCF 288.23-4 sé'n rud a bhfuil mé ag goil ann mar gheall air 'it's the thing I'm going there because of' would be something like is mar gheall ar an rud atá mé ag goil ann 'it's because of the thing that I'm going there' if the adverbial had not been split into a noun phrase (an rud) and a prepositional element (mar gheall air literally 'because of it') conjugated with a pronoun, since, as we have seen above¹, the element governed by a preposition must in Irish always follow immediately after it, in other words, Irish prepositions do not occur as separate syntactic constituents, i.e. adverbially. The verb goes into the dependent form, nasalised by a². Instead of being left at the end of the clause, the preposition can in certain cases (only in the affirmative) be brought directly before a; in this case one might get something like sé'n rud mar gheall air a bhfuil mé ag goil ann 'it's the thing because of which I'm going there', which to me, at any rate, sounds rather clumsier in Irish than it does in English, although a normative grammar of Irish would not, apparently condemn it out of hand³.

¹§ 35. ²This corresponds to Munster go^N; both are probably from ag a^N 'at which' (Bergin, glossary to TSh. 361; cf. O searcaigh 1940, 133.)

³Christian Brothers 1969, 339.

Preposed Adverbials in Scottish Gaelic

§ 131. On the main verb the effect of a constituent preposed for emphasis is substantially the same in Scottish Gaelic as in Irish. One finds special relative forms used in those dialects where they still¹ exist as such. In a relative verb, lenition is always the rule, even if there is no distinction in the ending of the verb².

The system of the copula itself in Scottish Gaelic is of much more interest. When used for emphatic preposing, it has a different form depending on whether it is followed by a pronoun (is 'is') a noun ('s e from is + e 'him', 'it') or an adverbial ('s ann from is + ann 'in it'). No syntactically very significant variations seem to exist in the dialects from Ross-shire to Rathlin. Holmer's study of the dialect of this island gives clear examples of the Scottish way of handling the copula: 's ann before an adverbial³, se before an indefinite noun⁴ and (as in Irish) se before a definite noun⁵. Although the author does not comment on it in dealing with the copula⁶ or with the position of the dialect as an essentially Scottish one⁷, this would seem to be a useful criterion for distinguishing Scottish Gaelic from Modern Irish.

¹Borgström 1937, 186; 1940, 109; 1941, 55; Oftedal 1956, 235ff.; Holmer 1957, 131; 137; 142-3; 1962, 84; 91.

²Borgström 1941, 117-8. ³1942, 139. 19, 22; ⁴1942, 143. 30.

⁵1942, 155. 1. ⁶1942, 113-4. ⁷1942, 121ff.

Most syntactically relevant facts will be sufficiently exemplified in the following examples from the dialect of Barra¹: tha mi smaointinn nach iad a rinn siod 'I think that it is not they who did that' has the simple form used before pronouns, while an e Màiri tha tighinn 'is it Mary who is coming' has the copula expanded with a pronoun² and 's ann agamsa tha iad 'it is I who have them; shows the form used before an adverbial.

§ 132. 'S ann used in this way is discussed by Anderson³, Calder⁴ and Carmody⁵. Most grammars of Scottish Gaelic seem to ignore it totally⁶, no doubt because Irish was looked on as the model for "good" grammar.

It does, however, occur quite early. Although there may be one example of the type under discussion in the early Scottish poetry in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, this seems to contain many more examples of the Irish type, as in is ris féin do thaobhaid 'it is to his side they come'⁷. In one passage, however, one finds the lines 's ann i n-éiric Con na gcleas/tugas liom andeas na cinn 'it is in requital for the Hound of the feats that I

¹Borgström 1937, 196. ²Note that, unlike what happens in Irish, this occurs before all nouns, not only definite ones.

³1910, 443. ⁴1923, 257. ⁵1945, 182 ff. ⁶Cf. Shaw 1778; Stewart ¹1801; ²1812; ³1876; ⁴1876; Currie 1828; Munro ¹1835; ²1893; MacAlpine 1852; Cameron Gillies 1896 and Nicolson 1936.

⁷Watson ed. 1937. 1387, cf. 1582, 1703, 2294, 1306 and 2330 as well as Ross, ed. 1939. 2637.

have brought the heads from the South'¹. Note that here ann i n- might be interpreted as an instance of the Scottish type of reduplicated ann an (for Irish i^N)². Thus, this early possible instance is not altogether certain. In any case, it should be noted that "most of, not all, of the poems here were composed in literary, not colloquial Gaelic"³. Therefore, even if this instance does not represent the later usage of 's ann, this could still have been used in the spoken language. A safe terminus ante quem from a genuine contemporary source⁴ can be provided by the poems of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, who amongst others gives the following line: 'S ann o'n reamhair fuair mi 'n euchdog 'it's from the traveller I got the fair maid'⁵. 'S ann is used enough⁶ in these poems from the conclusion to be drawn that it definitely belonged to normal usage at this time.

¹Ross ed. 1939.1367-8; reference to a previous edition of the Book of the Dean (Skene and M'Laughlan 1862, 40.41) and to the manuscript itself (in the National Library of Scotland) has convinced me that Ross had read these lines correctly.

²However, the Rev. William Matheson informs me that he would regard this to be later in origin than 's ann before adverbials.

³Watson ed. 1937 p. xxi. ⁴I am grateful to W. Matheson for information on this as well as on other points.

⁵From MacDonald ¹1751, 94.18 = ⁸1924, 238.15 which prints 'S ann bho'n Reumhar fuair mi 'n euchdag and translates: 'From the Rhymer does she hail'

⁶Cf. 1751, 153.17; 154.5; 13 and 155.6 not in ⁸1924; 1751, 118.8 = 1924, 120.1; 121.5 = 122.33; 123.6 = 124.30; and 1924, 184.3 and 190.18 apparently not in 1751.

§ 133. The system of Scottish Gaelic is highly interesting, not only for its theoretical implications, which cannot be gone into here, but also for the fact that Scottish Gaelic thus makes the same distinction between preposed adverbials and other constituents (subjects and objects) that is found in Old Irish. The means are of course very different and no direct connection can be implied without further evidence, but the fact must be noted.

Welsh also maintains a formal distinction¹ between emphasized adverbials etc. on the one hand and objects and subjects on the other. Again, the means employed are different and again one feels doubtful about a direct connection, but it should not be forgotten that that there are some other parallels between the Celtic languages ^{of Britain} that differentiate them from that of Ireland².

Preposed Adverbials in Manx

§ 134. It is generally accepted that Manx is closer to Scottish Gaelic than to Irish. Thus a relatively early sample like she dooinney dooyrt rhyw 'twas a man told me,³ has what looks very much like the Scottish type of copula usage with 's e before an indefinite noun. On the other hand, a preliminary search in the earliest⁴

¹Simon Evans 1964, 60 ff. ²Wagner 1959, 84 and passim.

³1804, 71; ²1870, 87. ⁴Not of course counting Ross's quotation (1939 p. xv) from "A Manx poem of date 1507 is written in a phonetic spelling: "Cha nee lesh Chliwe ren e ree reayll, / Cha nee les a Hideyn ny lesh a Vhow." "It was not with his sword he kept it, neither with his arrows or bow". For the poem, cf. Thomson 1961, 521 ff. Ross probably got his dating from Train 1845, 50 or from Harrison 1873, 25.

source of Manx we have, the Manx Book of Common Prayer,¹ shows that she may in fact have been used to cover the three different types of Scottish Gaelic. Thus one finds copula + pronoun used before an adverbial in däsyn ta ny phadervyn ully tovyrt feanish gy ree trvid yn enim aggesyn, ieu quei er tylv ta kredial aynsyn lyöi ny bekaghyn 'to him giue all the Prophets witness, that through his Name, whosoever beeueth in him, shall receive remission of sinnes'.¹ It is worth noting, though I cannot explain it, that after cha, nagh, gy, dy, an ('not', 'that not', 'that', 'that' '?'), what appears to be the feminine ee 'she', 'her' is used², whereas the masculine eh is present in she 'it is'. In any case, from our point of view, the important fact is that, regardless of what class of constituent follows, the Manx copula is expanded with a personal pronoun, changes in which seem dependent on the element that precedes it, not on the constituent that follows.

§ 135. In later Manx, the copula is sometimes confused with the substantive verb, as in Row e ayns Doolish honnick oo eh? 'Was it in Douglas you saw him'³, whereas She mysh yn senn ir y ta mee er clashtyn mygeayrt 'It's from old men that I've heard about them'.⁴

¹Moore and Rhys edd. 1913, 186. ²Cf. Thomson 1950, 280-1.

³Carmody 1953, 76, but cf. Wagner's strictures (1956, 107).

⁴ibid.

still has a form of the copula that agrees with the evidence from earlier Manx. In any case, Kneen concurs¹ about the use of she to predicate preposed constituents. Since this usage would, as far as adverbials are concerned, be ungrammatical both in Scottish Gaelic and in Irish, one may in this case disregard the objections² that have ^{been} made to Kneen's book and accept what he has to say on this point as genuine.

Thus, it can be stated that Manx agrees with Irish in having only one way of predicating all preposed constituents on the one hand and with Scottish Gaelic on the other in using a pronoun after the copula in cases where Irish does not have one, i.e. before indefinite nouns.

Finally, it is perhaps worth remarking upon that of all the Goedelic languages Manx is in this respect the closest to English³; ~~this is hardly very surprising~~ from the geographical point of view, although direct influence on this point would be difficult to prove, possible as it is.

¹1931, 85 ff. ²Thomson 1969, 189. ³Note especially how closely Hiberno-English usage of 'tis accords with that of the Goedelic languages (Henry 1957, 192 ff.) and that this "copula" (as Henry calls it) is composed of semantically similar elements to those that formed what probably was the only really living form of the copula in Manx.

Adverbs Prefixed to Verbs

§ 136. The morphology of these elements has been discussed above¹, where it was noted that it would probably be best to treat them as preverbs, at least within the grammar of Irish. On the other hand, since they would in Modern Irish (as in English) be translated by adverbs functioning as full syntactic constituents, some mention of them will be made here.

One interesting syntactic point in this connection has been ~~raised~~ by Howells, who argues that constructions where an adverbial is preposed with the copula are later in origin than ones with adverbially used prefixed adjectives. Thus he states¹: "arndip maith I take to have been a replacement for the original mad-génatar type." If one is to interpret what he says to refer to the use of the copula in the former construction, I am certain that he is right. On the other hand, it is of course quite clear that the adverbial use of adjectives in the nominative/accusative neuter is well attested in most of the older Indo-European languages². Thus the real innovation in Wb. 28^b32 arndip maith nairlethar 'that he care well' would be the introduction of the copula.

The other differences between the two constructions I would regard as secondary, mainly due to univerbation³

¹1966, 55. ²Brugmann and Delbrück 1911, 688-95. ³Ped. II, 291.

in cases like ML. 90^{b12} madgenatar 'blessed are they'. It seems to me reasonable to assume that both Howells's types go back to original adverbially used adjectives of much the same kind and that the split arose when the copula came to be used for the purpose of preposing constituents for emphasis.

The Disappearance of Adverbs in ind

§ 137. For reasons already stated¹, it seems rather likely that ind was in Old Irish felt to represent the article, even it originally might have been a preposition, and furthermore, that this might even provide a possible reason for why this formation disappeared.

The very great majority of instances of ind... in the glosses consists of single-word glosses on Latin adverbs in e, -ter etc. These of course tell us nothing about the syntax of this formation in Old Irish, merely what the scribes felt corresponded to Latin adverbs.

The few full sentences there are containing adverbs of this kind show these words used both with the substantive verb ("predicative" usage) and with other verbs ("adverbial usage" as well as predicated with the copula. An example of the "predicative" usage is shown in ML. 50^{c13}
rofoirbthichsir 7 rorelais aní robói inchlidiu lat adae
 'thou hast perfected and revealed what was secretly with thee'. The "adverbial" is exemplified in ML. 61^{a8}

¹§ 50 above.

doécai indinmedonach 'he inspects internally'¹, whereas predication with the copula is shown in ML. 31^c16 niba indlax 'it will not be slackly'². As one might expect, some glosses have no predicate; in these ind... seems to qualify a prepositional phrase, as it does in Wb. 7^b1 indinrice donaib nóibaih 'worthily of the saints'³. § 138. In the later language the formation with ind disappears completely, except of course if it is justified to see the same formation in words like indiu 'today'⁴ etc. The latest examples that I know of are in PH, but some of them should probably be interpreted in a different way. Thus there is ind infholach 'secretly, in secret', which Dottin seems to take as a survival of the old formation, though he is not absolutely clear on this point⁵. In .6085 co raib th'almea ind infholach 'ut sit eleemosyna tua in absconso' and in .7998 7 attaig annsin in coimdiu in infholuch 'and there pray the Lord secretly' such an interpretation is possible; on the other hand, all examples of this⁶ are from a rather late part of PH and also, the Latin translation⁷ of .6085 above would suggest that ind in these phrases should be interpreted as the preposition i^N 'in'. This is strongly supported by the spelling found in .5950-1 a n-infholach 'in absconso'. On the other hand, it is reasonably likely

¹Cf. ML. 78^c1 and 100^c7. ²Cf. ML. 70^d8,9; 127^b18; 30^a3; 35^d17; 65^b3.

³Cf. ML. 121^d7; Sg. 106^a5. ⁴Cf. §§ 50-4 above. ⁵1913, 201.

⁶Cf. also .6086, 93 and .8361. ⁷Which of course is the original; this is probably significant.

that .3605 and .3369 in mor-mo 'much more' are genuine survivals of the Old Irish formation. This gets some support from the fact that the only¹ two cases where ind... survives in Trip.² are of instances where the same adjective is involved, as in .2108 dogoim-se in mó 7 in mó 'I choose more and more' and .2628 acht adfessar duit in mó 'I will declare to you more'. One may note that the same adjective is involved in all these late instances and that the second passage from Trip.² is a verse one.

Taking what has been said above into consideration, it seems to me that one may safely assume that the formation ind... ceased to exist as a living form after the period of the glosses.

The Emergence of Adverbs in Co

§ 139. The early language only has a few examples of co 'until' used to form adverbs. In some of these the original meaning can be discerned fairly clearly, as in Ml. 61^b17 indí adidroillisset comóir inclóini nísín dutairciud doib 'they who deserved greatly that that iniquity should be caused to them', where co mmóir is "literally 'up to a high degree'"². The same would seem to apply to Ml. 77^a7 iarmét apectha 7 iarnarim condardad dia digail cocoir forcechn ae 'according to the extent of their sin and according to the number of

¹Cf. Mulchrone 1927, 57. ²Gramm. 239.

it, that God might inflict punishment suitably on every one of them', where co cóir might be rendered more literally as 'until that which is right (scil. is reached)'. But this is by no means always the case: it is for instance difficult to find any significant difference in meaning between co mmenic in MI. 39^a11 cídcuit áimraíd commenic nídernus 'even as to mentioning it frequently, I did it not' and in menice in Sg. 21^b14 conforcomat díliged innandiuite inmenice 'so that they often preserve the law of the simple (words)'. It may be significant that (with one possible exception) all the adjectives quoted by Thurneysen¹ and Zeuss² as examples of co + adjective = adverb in the glosses can also be used as nouns³. Thus it is possible that the origin of this way of forming adverbs from adjectives should be seen in phrases with a preposition and an adjective used as a noun. Later, when the formation in ind disappeared, it became possible to use any adjective in this way.

In any case, it seems to me likely that the process whereby the formation in co replaced that in ind should be seen within the wider context of the disappearance of the free use of the dative and, in the same context, the increased use of prepositions.

¹Gramm. 239. ²1871, 609. ³Cf. DRIA C, 314.53 ff.; L, 90.28 ff.; M, 44.67 ff.; 84.64 ff. (this seems a doubtful case) and M, 167.76 ff.

Co... in "adverbial"¹ usage.

§ 140. A sentence like Corm.Y .1229 docuirethar obonn anmannæ ar a chind 'an animal chances suddenly in its way' contrasts with PH .145 tanic cu hoband fuil 7 usce al-luc in crechta moir-sin amach 'there came out suddenly blood and water at the spot of that great wound',² in the same way as does Fé1.Jan 17 nos-molammar menicc with PH .1757 ar do-triallais co menic 'for thou hast tried it often'. These would seem to imply that PH on the whole requires a de-adjectival adverb to have co, whereas earlier texts did not require this (or ind) quite as rigorously³.

§ 141. In the Bardic language I have not found examples of adjectives used "adverbially" without go, as against numerous cases like TSh. .527 mar thig an bás go hobann dá bhfuadach leis go meinic 'how death comes suddenly, often carrying them off by force' or Párl na mB.1416-7 iad ghlacas fearg go hobann 'they whom anger takes suddenly. On the other hand, this happens sometimes in the modern dialects. Also, the Bardic language has "predicative" adjectives both with and without go⁴.

§ 142. There is a passage in Bardic teaching of grammar that would seem to support this observation: in the Bardic Syntactical Tracts we find the following passage:

¹I.e. with verbs other than attá 'be' ²Cf. .465, 625 etc.
³Cf. also §§ 84-5 above. ⁴Cf. § 146 below.

"ní .c. moladh ar oibrioghadh achd an mhéid chantar dhe"¹
 'an adjective is not correct with a verbal noun except
 insofar as it is spoken of'. McKenna paraphrases this
 as follows: "i.e. an adjective does not go with a verb
 except to say what is said about the verb, i.e. when
 used as adverb with verb."² The examples given confirm
 this: A-tá ag troimfhearthuín as-ttigh.. poinnfhearfaidh
thrá san tighsin .c.; a-tá ag fearthuín trom as-ttigh
 .l. 'the rain is dropping heavily within; it will indeed
 always drip down heavily in that house: correct (= .c.);
 it is raining heavy inside: faulty (= .l.)³. McKenna⁴
 paraphrases ag troimfhearthuín 'at heavy raining' as
ag fearthuín go trom 'at raining heavily' which helps
 clarifying matters. The main point is that an adjective
 cannot qualify a verbal noun in the same way as it could
 another noun: it must be made an adverb for this to be
 possible. Note that the discussion applies to verbal
 nouns: perhaps the reason was that whereas it was felt
 that someone might err in the direction of letting an
 adjective qualify a verbal noun, as in the example above,
 it was not felt to be possible and therefore not thought
 of that the same might apply to a finite verb. Perhaps
 significantly, Ó hEodhasa allows for only one case, where
 a de-adjectival adverb lacks go, namely when it is pre-
 posed to the verb⁵. Thus, it is probably not unreasonable

¹ Bard. Synt. Tr. § 226.27-8. 20p.cit. 177.x-z. ³ 178,7-8.
⁴ 178,6. RGH 1818-22, quoted in full § 125 n. above.

to conclude¹ that the Bardic language for the most part considered go to be obligatory in de-adjectival adverbials, just ~~like~~^{as} present-day educated English requires most of them to be formed with -ly.

§ 143 The picture in the modern dialects is rather different from that given by the examination of the classical language. LASI shows a rather bewildering pattern, where go seems to be omitted more or less at random. If we look at map 298² we see that go in this phrase ('he died suddenly' fuair sé bás obann, cailleadh go toi-beann é) is apparently (with one exception: point 4) not used in Munster and only intermittently in the rest of the country. One difficulty about this phrase must, however, be noted: it could be that in ...bás obann, the last word should be interpreted as qualifying the noun³; on the other hand, outside Munster, points 29 (Craughwell, Co. Galway), 58 (Geeverawne, Co. Mayo), 61 (Tubercurry, Co. Sligo), 70 (Glenvar, Co. Donegal), 72 (Drumnaraw, Co. Donegal) and 73 (Kildanagh, Co. Donegal) have fuair sé bás go (t)obann, where go... hardly qualifies the noun. Note that these are all areas where few Irish-speakers were found. Therefore, one could

¹As Adams must have done, when he states, unfortunately giving no references: "Adverbs of manner do not exist as a morphological class; they are expressed by the moladh, usually preceded by the iairmbéarla 'go'." (1970, 159).

²LASI I. ³As most probably in Párl. na mB. 1517 go bhfaghann sé bás obann 'that he gets a sudden death'.

dismiss these examples as mere corruptions such as might be expected to occur in the last stages of a dying language. On the other hand, in view of the probably more frequent use of go in the literary language, they may point to an innovation (disuse of go) not having reached these areas. Finally, to take those cases where (go h)obann cannot but qualify the verb, note that Munster has only case of cailleadh go hobann é¹ against four of cailleadh obann é², just as in point 42 cailleadh go hobann é and 43 cailleadh obann é outside Munster, where one may count four cases with go against seven without.

§ 144. Like map 239 discussed below³, the evidence discussed in the previous paragraph would give the impression that go is seldom used to forms adverbs in Munster and somewhat more frequently in the rest of the country. A glance at the forms collected against Q 510 shows that this is not always the case. The phrase in question, (go)moch, luath has more occurrences with than without go all over the country, including in Munster point 18 (Dunquin, Co. Kerry) which Wagner⁴ has called "the only spot in the province of Munster where Irish is still predominant". In Scotland gu is not found in this phrase at all, except in Arran, which is almost

¹Point 4.²2, 7, 15 and 19. ³§ 147. ⁴LASI I, p. xi C.

dead, linguistically speaking. Q 560 'he passes me often on the road' téann sé tharam go minic ar an mbóthar 'he passes me often on the road' unfortunately yields some information only for a few points, but where it does, it almost universally (including Scotland) shows that go... is found in this phrase, as does Q 1002 'he visits our house seldom' teagann sé go teach ^{againne} seo go hannah, which in some cases (e.g. point 27) has go minic preposed with the copula, something that seems to be avoided in earlier stages of Irish¹.

Co... in "Predicative" Usage

§ 145. The use of co with "predicative" adjectives is not obligatory, but seems to occur according to rules on the whole but not entirely similar to those that apply for "adverbial" ones. Ó Máille states that de-adjectival adverbs without co "are mostly such as can be used in agreement with the subject (or in the case of marb with the object) of certain verbs, or adverbially."²

It should, however, be noted that one adjective is quoted by him both with and without co³. Thus PH .2413 bíd din forpthe 'be then spiritually minded' contrasts with .689 Q mboi iarum co forpthe is-na gnímu-sin 'when he was perfect in these deeds' and .7900-1 ar mbeth-ne cu forpthe for a scáth-som 'our being made perfect under its protection'. On the whole Ó Máille's views

¹Cf. § 125 above. ²1912,80. ³1912,79 and 75.

are accepted by Dillon¹ who states that "the available evidence does not show that the substantive verb could be used with a predicative adjective in the same way as the copula in the early texts. The instances which occur in early texts belong to a class of adjectives which, from their meaning, may be used adverbially, and may therefore be predicated by the substantive verb like ordinary adverbs." First of all, it is quite possible that the example of an adverb in ind occurring with the substantive verb should be included under the present heading. Consider Ml. 50^c13 aní robóí inchlidiu lat adgá 'what was secretly with thee, o God'. One might of course say that the presence of the prepositional phrase prompted the choice of construction, but this seems to me no more certain than it would in a case like PH .839 boi occa cu lán-gradach sist fhota 'he lived with her full lovingly a long while'.

Summing up for the older language, it would seem that there are some adjectives which may occur with the substantive verb without go, but that the latter construction is preferred.

§ 146. In the Bardic language the situation seems rather similar. Thus TSh.4316 go mbí^a ghlóir go síordhaidhe 'that his glory does be everlasting(ly)' ² contrasts with .4314 go mbí an t-anam síordhaidhe 'that the soul

¹1928,341. ²Cf. .3603,3610,3720,3986,4315.

does be everlasting'.¹ In this case, it seems hardly justified to assume any significant difference in meaning between the two cases, just as the presence or otherwise of co in the passages from PH quoted above² did not seem to matter.

Perhaps it would be best to regard the "predicative" use of go as a tendency in the language that had not been carried through as completely as it would seem had happened in the case of the same formation when used "adverbially", i.e. to qualify verbs other than attá 'be'.³

§ 147. In the modern dialects, LASI⁴ shows more or less the same picture for "predicative" adjectives as for "adverbial" ones, with the slight difference that go does not start to be used until Co. Mayo⁵. Again, in Scotland, gu is found in Arran only. Now all this applies to the phrase tá mé (go) réasúnta 'I am middling'. If we look at Q 934 'I am well' tá mé go maith the situation is quite different: here the survey shows no instances at all of non-use of go. On the other hand, Q 742 'I don't know whether you are right or wrong' ní fheadar, pé acu tánn tú fíor nó bréagach⁶ shows no instance at all where go is used and neither

¹Cf. .3603, 3610, 3720, 3986, 4315. ²§ 145. ³Cf. § 142 above.

⁴Map 239. ⁵Point 52=Doughnakeon. ⁶Answer given at point 18=Dunquin, Co. Kerry.

does Q 1005 bhí muid uaigneach ina dhiaidh¹ 'we were lonely after him' (except for points 81 and 86 in Donegal). As probably in the case of "adverbial" adjectives one has to conclude that in the modern dialects the adjective itself, and the dialect, will determine whether go is used or not, thus not the verb. In any case (whether or not go is present), I agree with Howells's general statement² "that the adj. with the subst. verb has always had adverbial overtones". He adds, presumably about Scottish Gaelic, that "In the modern dialects, the mark of the adverb, the go/gu has almost receded out of sight". As we have seen, this is not the case for all dialects.

§ 148. In Kerry, and probably in some other cases as well, there is a difference of meaning between an adjective with go and one without it when used with the substantive verb. As Sjoestedt-Jonxal puts it: "L'opposition entre l'adjectif et l'adverbe permet de distinguer au besoin une qualité inhérente au sujet d'un état occasionnel: tánn tú go láidir Stunésien bonne forme (pour le moment)'; tánn tú láidir 'tu es robuste (de ton naturel)'"³. The facts allow for all sorts of interpretations, as when Finck, writing about Aran Irish, states "Der gebrauch von táim

¹ Answer given at point 42, Inishmaan, Co. Galway.

² 1966, 55. ³ 1938, 76.

beschränkt sich jedoch auch beim adjektivum seiner grundbedeutung gemäss auf die fälle, in denen ein zustand prädiiziert wird, wie in tá anndoras dúnta 'Die thür ist geschlossen',¹ whereas "adjektive mit dem präfix go, wie go héasca 'leicht', 'mit leichtigkeit'" are accounted for together with other "Adverbiale Bestimmungen des prädikats"² where the example an bhfuil do mhuintir uilig go maith 'Sind die deinigen alle wohl' is given. In Connemara, the situation is described as follows by Wigger: "Beim Verbum substantivum werden alle Adjektive rein prädikativ, d.h. ohne go gebraucht, mit ausnahme einer kleinen semantisch definierbaren Gruppe: die Wertungsadjektive maith 'gut', breaghda 'hübsch', deas 'nett', álainn 'schön', dona 'schlecht', und ole 'übel'!"³. To this one might add that these words not only mean degrees of 'good' and 'bad' but also occur frequently. Ó Máille (presumably referring to Connaught Irish) explains⁴ that only "adjectives denoting a temporary condition" can be predicated with tá without go. About this Dillon, rightly, it seems to me, observes⁵ that actual modern usage is less restricted. § 149. About Ulster Irish, Ó Searcaigh⁶ states that with certain exceptions go is used for added emphasis⁷ when health or weather is involved, but not with adjectives

¹1899,210. ²1899,212. ³1970,43 n. ⁴1913,52. ⁵1928,341.

⁶1939,61. ⁷"le béim treise a chur". This seems incorrect as the choice of whether go is used or not depends on the choice of adjective, not on whether emphasis is intended.

like tinn 'ill', tuirseach 'tired', fliuch 'wet', tirim 'dry', garbh 'rough'. On the other hand, go occurs in go maith 'well', go breagh 'fine', go dona 'badly', go measardha 'middling' and go claidhte 'ruined'. Ó Searcaigh does not define his classification semantically any further, but his class of adjectives that take go corresponds roughly to those observed by Wigger for Connemara, in that some sort of notion like 'evaluation' is involved.

In Scottish Gaelic, the situation, as observed by Oftedal¹, is that "A few adjectives are preceded by the particle gu both in adverbial and predicative use:... am bheil sibh gu math 'are you well'... Most adjectives do not take the particle gu in adverbial functions. This is consequently not a general adverbializing particle as often stated in Gaelic grammars." On his part, Howells adds to his statement about the recession of gu² that "in Sc. Gael. this has happened in adverbial position as well as in predicative" and that even with the substantive verb "the adj. is preceded by is ann, b' ann" when preposed for emphasis. As we have seen above³, this marks anything that comes after it as definitely adverbial. In Scottish Gaelic at least, this gives full justification for treating "predicative" adjectives with go without gu as a sub-class of the class of major constituents formed by adverbials.

¹1956, 218. ²1966, 55, cf. § 147 above. ³§ 131.

§ 150. It is perhaps worth quoting a few examples in support of the view that, in Scottish Gaelic at least, adjectives with or without gu when used otherwise than as attributes or predicates can be considered as adverbial adjuncts, whatever verb they may occur with. Thus Carmody¹ states "The normal construction (gu plus adjective) is emphasized with 's ann' and he quotes² the sentence 'S (ann) glé ainneamh a tha e tighinn an so 'it's very seldom that he comes here', where two of his speakers used ann and one did not. The latter is presumably a survival of older (Irish-type) usage. Note that whereas the simple form is of the copula is still possible before certain adjectives (as always in Irish), the expanded pre-nominal form 's e cannot be so used in Scottish Gaelic. On his part, Howells³ gives the example is ann anmoch a tha i 'it's late that she is' and comments: "Note the ann, as if the modern speaker, too, were aware of the 'adverbial flavour'".

The two examples quoted show no significant distinction in construction deriving from the choice of verb, whether the substantive verb is found or any other one.

¹1945, 172. For some reason he later (art.cit. 184) changes his mind, stating that "adverbs preceded by gu cannot be emphasized by inversion with 's ann (for example gu h-olc 'ill, poorly')". This would be interesting to test, but note that such an adverb may be predicated with 's ann, in a non-emphatic case like ma's ann gu maith a' sealladh (Gaelic Bible: John 18.23).

²1945, 184. ³1966.39.

Lastly, we may note what Oftedal¹ has to say about the syntax of de-adjectival adverbs: "...adjectives are frequently used adverbially...They may be preceded by the same qualifying adverbs and particles as those used before predicative adjectives, such as cho 'so, as', glé- 'very'. A few adjectives are preceded by the particle gu both in adverbial and predicative use:...". This also points to there being no real distinction, linguistically speaking, between "adverbially" and "predicatively" used adjectives in this dialect. This state of affairs reminds one rather strongly of the situation in Modern German, where the same form of the adjective is used as complement with all verbs, both sein 'to be' on the one hand and all others on the other².

"Case" in Adverbs of Time and Place

§ 151. Generally speaking, most Irish adverbs can be said to carry two meanings, or perhaps it would be more exact to say: two components of meaning. Firstly, there is place as such (in relation to the speaker or to some other point of reference). This is the only meaning conveyed by most corresponding forms in English, such as down, west, out etc. Secondly, there is what might be termed "case" in a broad

¹1956, 218. ²Cf. § 19 above.

syntactic sense¹. Here, the primary distinction is one between 'rest' and 'movement'. In some adverbs, there is a secondary distinction between those movement adverbs implying 'provenance' and those of 'goal' (i.e. 'from' versus 'to'). On the other hand, not all adverbs of place show these distinctions. Thus, even the distinction between 'rest' and 'movement' may be absent. In other cases, the series lacks the adverb denoting 'provenance'. Especially the complete absence of "case" in some of these adverbs reminds one of modern languages like English or French, whereas the existence of these distinctions in others reminds one of languages like Latin and Greek or modern ones like German, Swedish and Finnish.

§ 152. In Old Irish (and, generally speaking, in the modern language too) some adverbs of place make up a system where one axis has three places, corresponding to 'state', 'provenance' and 'goal' and the other axis can have up to a dozen places, corresponding to various locations in reference to the speaker or some other point of reference supplied by the context. The morphological elements t-, s- and an- have been discussed above² together with some of their less frequent allomorphs as have some of the elements in the location axis.

¹Cf. Lyons 1969, 300. ²§§ 89-100, cf. also §§ 73-4.

This is rather different from the system of Modern English, where adverbs, such as up and down are locative only and thus leave to the verb the functions of the t-, s- and an- axis. Note how Carmichael Watson translates¹ MU² .513 Ganas tánic int armgrith dar-fánic, inn a haéor anúas...? as follows: "'whence came the weapon¹ that reached us? Down from the air...?'" , but goes on to take what immediately follows (...no in dar muir aníar inn a Héirind anair?) in this way: "'or across the sea from the west or out of Ireland from the east?'" . In the first case, a literal translation of anúas 'from above' would have been very clumsy in the context and was not used, whereas in the latter part of the passage, 'provenance' is indicated without too much clumsiness in the English translation.

An... and Verbs of Movement in the Older Language

§ § 153. In the above example from MU² note how the adverbs in an- occur together with a verb compounded with to- and meaning something like 'come' or 'arrive'. It should be remembered in this context that Irish verbs of movement mostly express some form of directionality, even when they occur without preverbs, unlike Greek counterparts like σείχω and έρχομαι : this is shown in

¹ Better: 'clangour of arms, alarm'. Cf. the glossary to MU² 66.37 and DRIA A,403.9-11 and 27 as well as G,163.y ff.

Od. 11.17 στείχησι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀπτερόεντα as against Il. 2.287 στείχοντες ἀπ' Ἀργεος ; in both examples directionality is expressed in the prepositions, not in the verb.

On the other hand, it is of course hardly likely that téit 'goes' and do-tét and do-icc 'comes' cover the meanings of English go and come. The use of to- inside the paradigms of these verbs is a most complex matter, but it is probably significant that, as Vendryes has pointed¹ out: "il est visible que luid² s'emploie de préférence quand l'idée essentielle est celle du but de la marche elle-même et docuaid³ quand l'idée essentielle est celle du but de la marche." Note that these two forms belong to the same paradigm (téit). The use of a prefix⁴ to show the notion 'come' may in fact well point to téit 'goes' originally having had a meaning similar to that of the Greek cognate (στείχω) of some forms of its paradigm, namely 'come, go, move', i.e. a neutral meaning as far as direction is concerned. This seems to be the case still in LL .12675 can lod⁵ translated by Stokes⁶ as 'whence hast thou come?'.

¹1929,219. ²'went'. ³'has gone'. ⁴This is by no means unprecedented in the world's languages. Anderson (1971, 122 n. 1) mentions suffixes used in a similar way in a couple of languages of India.

⁵Also in LL .12676 and .12678. ⁶Stokes, ed. 1893, 407.2,3 and .6.

Note, by the way, that if the -n is identical¹ with the -an in adverbs of provenience, these passages provide counterexamples to the tendency² for adverbs in an- to occur only with verbs in to-.

§ 154. In another connection³ Bergin states: "if we had such a case here, we should expect some trace of phrases like luid anair 'he went to the eastern part'. No such phrase occurs. It is always táinic anair 'he came from the east'". In mentioning this, Bergin was dealing with a quite different matter, but it is from our point of view here rather striking even with a more expected meaning like 'he went from the east'⁴.

The example already given⁵ of a verb in to- with adverbs in an- represents a normal type. Thus we find ML. 67^d8 duimchella son incathraig andess 7 aniar 7 antuaid 'it surrounds the city on the south, the west, and the north!'; BDD².227 do-lotar trá forsin fairrgi anall a tír nárennn 'they came, then, over the sea from the other side to the land of Ireland'; TBFr.³194 do·lléici a hathair sleig cóicrind dí anúas rout n-aurchora 'Ihr Vater schleuderte von oben in der vollen Länge eines Wurfes einen fünfzackigen Speer nach ihr';⁶ SC².762-3 Táinic íarom Manannán anair do saigid

¹Cf. Hdb. 274 and § 96 above. ²Cf. §§ 154-6 below.

³1913, 187. ⁴This feels incomplete as a sentence of English, but the Swedish equivalent han gick österifrån would be acceptable.

⁵§ 152 above. ⁶Cf. TBFr.³ Kommentar 182. The word is not included in the Glossar.

na hingini 'And Manannán came to the girl out of the east'; Tur. 14 amal tegdais foratochar deglí anechtair 'like a good house whereon a good colour is put outside'.¹

It should be stressed that these examples represent perfectly normal usage of Irish, where a verb in to- occurs together with an adverb in an-. In itself this is not very remarkable: the interesting thing is that so few counterexamples seem to occur, i.e. ones where an adverb in an- might be found together with a verb that lacks the preverb to-.

§ 155. One possible such counter-example has already² been mentioned, namely can lod 'whence hast thou come'. This could be explained by stating that the verb here has its older meaning of 'move' with no directionality implied. Sc.M.² .5 I n-ōenló immurgu ro·dālsat-som etir aníar ocus anair 'on the same day, however, they summoned to a tryst, both from the west and the east' is of a different type. It has been suggested³ that the adverbs aníar 'from the west' and anair 'from the east' here reflect position rather than movement. This is of course not impossible, but it seems much more likely that one

¹Note that to- is definitely present in the verb whether the verb should be emended to foratabar, as the editors (*Thes.I*, 485 n. d) suggest or one accepts Pedersen's to me more likely view that one should read (*Ped.II*, 501) "-r statt -rr: altertümliche Form". (Cf. *DRIA degra-dodelbtha* 233.67-8).

²§ 153 above, with references. ³*DRIA* A, 346.84.

should subsume something meaning 'those who would come'. If this had been stated explicitly, it would in all probability have involved a verb in to-.

Finally, note that, as we would expect from what has been said before in this paragraph, in those cases known to me where ammaig 'from the outside' occurs with a verb of movement, the preverb to- is present as in do·mbert ammuig 'and brought him in'¹.

§ 156. To me it seems rather uncertain whether this tendency for adverbs in an- to occur only together with verbs in to- would, if sufficiently substantiated into a definite rule, be useful in proving anything much towards the solving of the controversy about the origin of to-. On the one hand, it might argue in favour of Wagner's view of to- as originally a "Richtungspräverb"² but against that the "connective"³ advocated by others cannot be ruled out. In the former case the meaning of to- with verbs of movement might be something not unlike the preverb προς- in Od. 17.448 τίς δαίμων τόδε πῆμα προσήγαγε δαιτὸς ἀνίην and in the latter it would be something more like here in Lawrence's rendering of Homer's line: What murrain brought this kill-joy here to curdle our feast⁴.

¹Hull, ed. 1941, 941.15 = LL.37037; cf. .36981.

²1972^a, 39. ³Cf. § 90 above for references. ⁴1935, 242.

§ 157. About the example¹ from Tur. 14 foratochar deglí anechtair 'whereon a good colour is put outside', it has been observed² that the "idea" of motion is "much reduced". The same observation is also found about other adverbs in an-, but in many cases an alternative explanation is possible. In the case of Mon. Tall. 162.33 (§ 85) ba sí húarsom douargaib Adamnán ind soscele andall 'an it was the hour that A. lifted up the gospel yonder' it has been suggested³ that the spelling may point to andall here being a different word, i.e. not anall 'from beyond'.⁴ About the cardinal points DRIA⁵ quotes examples with "the idea of motion much reduced" like Bard. Synt. Tr. 25 § 218.9 Coinnmhe aníarana 's anoir. foirne íarradha ellaigh 'Billeted men from West and East, crowds making a call on wealth' or TBC³.4624-5 Airm i tát na láith gaile anair isin cath bérat toilg trisin cath síar 'As for champions who come from the west to the battle, they will make a breach through the battle-line to the west'. Note how the translation here includes a who come that is not present in the Irish. This could equally well have been added to the previous example. -On the face of it, of course, these examples look like cases of adverbs qualifying nouns, but as I hope will be made clear later⁶ it is better to treat phrases like these as containing a subsumed relative clause.

¹Cf. § 154 above. ²DRIA A, 336.56. ³DRIA A, 325.74.

⁴Perhaps innonn 'to the other side'. Cf. § 97 above.

⁵A, 347.2 ff. ⁶§ 178 below.

§ 158. One comes to the conclusion that although a certain amount of overlap may have existed between different types of adverbs of place, the main case where ones in an- are used to indicate position, not movement (stated or implied) is when used with fri 'against'.¹ as in Wb.6^d17 hiliricum .i. regio inter italiam et greciam .i. frigrecia aníar et frietáil anáir 'to the West of Greece and to the East of Italy'. On the other hand, there remain occurrences like Thes.II,311.2 conidfarcaib la German · andess i ndeisciurt Letha by the editors translated: 'so that he left him with German southward in the souther part of Letha'. Again DRIA² observes that "the idea of motion" is "much reduced" in this passage. Accordingly, one would take andess as Atkinson does³ to mean 'in the south' here used for metrical reasons, since dess 'in the South' would not have suited the metre. On the other hand, there is hardly an equally valid reason why fadess⁴ 'to the South' was not used, unless the poet meant a phrase where German was described as a southerner, someone 'from the south'; this would however have entailed syntactic enjambment, something I have not noted elsewhere in this poem.

¹Cf. Gramm. 305. ²A,333.65. ³Lib.Hymn.II,32.10.

⁴This is of course the word Stokes's and Strachan's translation in Thes. would have led one to expect.

T..., s... and Verbs of Movement in the Older Language

§ 159. As in the an- series the adverbs in s- are sometimes confused with those in t-¹, although in this connection it should be noted that there was the added difficulty that when lenited, t and s both give /h/. However, lenition is regular only in the case of the adverbs in t-².

As one would expect, the opposite sort of confusion is rare, i.e. the t- series seems not to occur much with verbs of movement, except, interestingly enough, for sund 'here' which occurs with some verbs of movement, all of which have the prefix to-, as in SC².377 conná toraig sund i lle 'that he does not come hither'³. Unfortunately, there seem to be no clear instances in the glosses of this kind of usage, although there are apparent ones, like Wb. 14^c20 cachled dochoidsom sund isdoprecept et forcital 'every side that he went here it is to instruct and to teach'⁴, where sund seems to go with téit 'goes' in ^{one} of the forms that contains to-. Here it seems more likely that sund refers to the passage the gloss comments upon; a clearer translations might be 'in this passage'. In any case, there are enough cases of sund with verbs of movement that contain to- for

¹DRIA S, 35.36; 248.61. ²Cf. § 99 above. ³Cf. LU.3578; (= SC².29); IT I, 144.27; CRR 19; Met.Dinds.III, 60.77; Stokes, ed. 1877, 183.26; TD 39.2; Cog.86.14;

⁴Cf. Wb. 23^a10.

support to be provided for Dillon's view¹ that to- implied "'to arrive at a place', i.e. the perfective aspect of coming and going, rather 'ankommen' than 'kommen'". It is of course significant that sund does not seem to occur with verbs of movement that lack to-.

§ 160. The s- series occurs regularly with both types of verbs of movement, whether or not they are compounded with to-. Thus one finds examples like SCano .236 Téid-side sair 'he goes east' against .510 far tíachtain sair and TBC³ .1017 Ragat-sa sechum fodess didiu 'Then I shall meanwhile go on southwards' against .1036 Táinic Conall fothúaid arís 'Conall came back again northwards'. These show quite clearly that although the use of the an- series tends to be conditional on the verb of movement being compounded with to-, the converse, i.e. that adverbs in s- would occur only together with verbs that do not contain to-, is not the case.

T...., s...., and an... in the Later Language

§ 161. The situation in the modern language seems much less clear than in early texts, but something semantically rather similar would seem to obtain, according to the Christian Brothers, who state² that "often anuas 'from above' is used instead of síos 'to below'

¹1972,43. ²1960,277 (my translation from the Irish).

between a verb of movement and the preposition ar 'on, at'." . They give the example chuir sí an báisín anuas (síos) ar an urlár 'she put the basin down on the floor' against d'fhéach sé ar an urlár 'he looked on the floor' and thug sé aghaidh síos ar an ngleann 'he fixed his attention down on the glen', in both of which it would seem to be implied that an adverb in an- would not be acceptable. In the first instance 'arrival' is explicit, in the others it is not. Of course adverbs in an- are found with verbs like teacht 'come', but the interesting thing here seems to be that the notion of 'arrival' is expressed quite a different way ⁱⁿ ~~that~~ ^{from} ~~of~~ Old Irish (with to-) but the result seems to be the same.

162. The previous paragraph of course applies to what a school-grammar has to say on these matters. In genuine dialect material the situation is by no means as easy to interpret.

As to the possible distinction in those cases where both s- and an- adverbs can be used with the same verb, Sheehan makes¹ the following observation: "'To raise'. Distinguish between do thógbhail aníos and do thógbhail suas. The former would imply that the stone was raised from the bottom of the hole to the level of the diggers, or to the surface; the latter, that the stone was raised from its position below, and then laid aside without

¹1908, 56.

being taken from the "hole". Here too, the notion of 'arrival' seems to be present where aníos is used but not with suas.

Hughes, on the other hand, takes¹ the central point of reference to be the speaker both in the s- and the an- series: "In Irish, 'up' is not merely 'toward the sky' but either 'up toward me from below' (aníos) or 'up away from toward a point above me' (suas)". This is equivalent to giving a very literal translation of both elements in each adverb mentioned.

§ 163. Writing about West Kerry Irish, Sjøestedt-Jonval² states that "La même direction absolue sera donc traduite par suas 'de bas en haut (moi étant en bas)' ou par aníos 'de bas en haut (moi étant en haut)'. Soit ce passage, tiré d'un conte: Chuala sé an dul trí n-a chéille thuas insa tseomra agus tamall beag i n-a dhiaidh sin do ghluais bean bhreágh...anuas; d'imthigh sí síos go dtí an baraille agus do dh'iompaigh sí ar sáil, agus ar linn di dul suas on tseomra...etc.'il entendit le remue-ménage en haut dans la chambre, et un moment après une belle femme vint d'en haut; elle descendit jusqu'au baril; elle tourna sur ses talons, et comme elle remontait dans sa chambre..." Unfortunately, something has been left out between the verb and anuas 'from above'; thus it is not certain that this passage contradicts what has been said about the notion of

¹1970,90-1. ²1938,78.

'arrival' being present in a sentence that contains an adverb in an-; in any case, note that ghluais, although translated 'came' in this passage, is neutral as far as directionality is concerned. The literal meaning is 'move'.

§ 164. On the whole, it seems reasonable to agree with Sheehan¹ that verbs of coming generally occur together with adverbs in an- and ones of going with adverbs in s- in Modern Irish. But this is by no means a universal rule. Thus we find examples like tiocfaidh mé soir ar ball 'I'll come east presently'². On the other hand, the same³ folktale contains the sentence chuaidh sé soir 'he went east'³ and teacht anoir⁴ which conform to Sheehan's rule. First of all, note that ~~earlier~~ ^{older} examples like the first one quoted in this paragraph seem quite normal⁵, although it does not conform to Sheehan's rule.

It is probably true that strict rules cannot be laid down about these matters. Consider what looks like a counter-example to the rule about verbs of going: chuaidh duine do na míanadóirí aníos le ócáide⁶ 'one of the miners went from below on business'. Does le ócáide imply 'arrival'? If so, it would seem that the tendency noted for the older language may exist in

¹1944, 191; cf. Skerrett 1969, 76. ²De Búrca 1973, 62 § 1.10.

³Art.cit. 63 § 5.6. ⁴Art.cit. 63 § 5.15. ⁵Cf. § 160 above.

⁶De Bhaldraithe 1945, 73.27-8.

Modern Irish in a formally, but not semantically different form; however, it would be rash to state these tendencies as facts without a great deal more of material to support them.

One other point has been raised by Skerrett¹, namely that these "co-occurrence classes" also hold good for transitive verbs like tabhairt 'give' with adverbs in an- and cur 'put' with ones in s-. Substituting breith 'take, carry' for cur, which hardly implies more directionality in itself than does gluaiseacht 'move' this would certainly be true of an older stage of the language: as Vendryes² notes; "les composés du verbe berim...ont eu un développement assez semblable à celui des verbes tíagu et doicim." In the modern dialects, however, there is a certain amount of confusion between beirim 'I carry' and do-bheirim (tugaim) 'I give'³.

§ 165. The adverbs in t-, s- and an- are found in many more or less idiomatic usages not discussed here, including temporal ones resembling e.g. English usage in phrases like down to our times. On the other hand, it should be noted that sometimes the use of a prepositional phrase seems more idiomatic than that of a simple adverb, even if one of these might have been expected, at least by a speaker of English. Thus Ó Cuív

¹1969,76. ²1929,222. ³Cf. Finck 1899,II,41.

in a passage¹ dealing with "the impact of the English language on Irish" makes this interesting observation: "Two young boys in Ballyvourney wanted to say 'put me up on the bicycle'. One was from a home where Irish was the normal every-day language, but the second was not. The second said cuir suas ar an rothar me, but the one with the Irish background said cuir i n-áirde ar a' mbicycle me." This tendency presumably has some connection with what Henry has called² the "substantial cast" of Irish. On the other hand, it is probable that the simple adverbs (as they are in Irish now) have, over the centuries, lost a great deal of their original force. In this connection, one may note that in Leurbost Gaelic, the distinction between 'up' and 'down' has vanished, leaving only one word to express both kinds of 'vertical motion': in Oftedal's³ words: "thig e a nuas chugam means both 'come up to me' and 'come down to me'". On the other hand, Calder's grammar⁴ lists the full set of adverbs as they would be in Irish (allowing for some mainly orthographical differences).

¹1951, 54. ²1960, 25. ³1956, 217. Note that Holmer (1938, 197) states that a níos 'from below' is "in Islay generally used for nuas 'from above', 'down'...., as: bheir a níos an cloc 'bring down the clock'."

⁴1923, 315.

Adverbs Showing Fewer than Three "Cases"

§ 166. The adverbs meaning 'in' and 'out' differ significantly from those in t-, s- and an- in having lost their equivalent of those in an- fairly early¹. On the other hand, unlike the corresponding words in English, they show rest and movement².

The contrast between the meanings 'out' and 'in' is illustrated in AidedM.647 Is annsin t̄anic in r̄ig amach isin teach n-in-chlethi 7 do-chuaid isteach doridisi 'then the king came forth into the hidden house, and went into the house again' and that between 'rest' and 'movement' in Oftedal's text 3: Air a shaoil am fear a bha staigh gun robh an t-each air a dhressigeadh aig an fhear a bha muigh, thainig e mach 'when the one who was inside thought that the one outside had the horse (ready) dressed up, he came out'³. Apart from noting the disappearance¹ of ammaig 'from outside' and the fact that the literal meaning of these words is sometimes retained in very early examples⁴, there seems not to have been very much syntactic change involving these words in Irish, whereas in Scottish Gaelic the system seems to be rather badly broken down in some dialects⁵. Occasionally, one finds what looks like ammaig 'from outside' surviving, as in PH.76 in fer t̄anic amuig 'the man who came from

¹cf. §§ 72, 89 and 155 above. ²Cf. Hughes 1970, 92.

³1956, 269 and 311. ⁴DRIA I, 323.48. ⁵Cf. § 72 above.

outside', i.e. 'the guest'¹, but this is not very common. In any case, note that the modern language would prefer some sort of circumlocution, if 'provenance' is to be indicated clearly. De Bhaldraithe² suggests ón taobh amuigh, literally 'from the side outside'. As in the case of other adverbs of place³, the adverbs of motion in this group can be used with the verb subsumed, as in ní fheicim amach in ae' chor é 'I don't see him (going) out of doors at all or bhí siad amach go bóthar 'they were (gone) out to a road'. In both these cases movement to the outside is implied.

§ 167. A very important unit in the system of Irish adverbs of place is represented by Old Irish and 'in it' and ind 'into it', which were later confused into and and ann 'in(to) it'. The history of how dative and accusative came to be confused after prepositions cannot be gone into here, but it may be pointed out that, as Vendryes⁴ has shown, this happens as early as in the Würzburg glosses. For the Passions and Homilies, Atkinson's Glossary⁵ states that the word occurs all of 460 times, some of which show it used wrongly from the point of view of Old Irish, as in PH 1378 bíaid ind col-lathi in fhuigill 'and shalt remain there till the day of judgment'. On the other hand, a bardic poem

¹Cf. PH .92. ²1959, s.v. outside. ³Cf. DRIA I, 63.81 and SC².795.

⁴1908, 150. ⁵PH 540.

shows it used correctly as late as the late fifteenth century: Aithd.D. nr 28 § 25 Leamhain inn is Éirne as 'the Leamhain as it comes into the lake, the Éirne as it leaves it'.

§ 168. With or without a demonstrative suffix -so 'this' or -sin 'that', 'the afore-mentioned' or reinforced by other adverbs of place¹, it is used both as a locative² and as a temporal³ adverb. As Oftedal⁴ notes, "These adverbs denote both movement and repose: tháinig mi ann an so bho chionn séa míosan 'I came here six months ago', bha dúsgadh anns na h-eaglaisean ann an so 'there was a revival in the churches here'. Thus, this word functions rather like its English equivalents (here, there etc.).

In this connection, it should be observed that this lack of distinction between 'rest' and 'movement' is a feature of some other prepositions, especially in Modern Irish, used with nouns or conjugated with a pronoun⁵, and not only, as in the cases mentioned here, where a conjugated preposition has lost much of its original pronominal meaning, turning into something that functionally must be described as an adverb.

¹Cf. Gramm. 300; GCF, 209.19, 20, 24, 25, 26; 206.27-207.2; Sjöstedt-Jonval 1938, 8; Oftedal 1956, 214-217; Searcaigh 1939, 183; Finck II 1899, 98.

²DRIA I, 5.62 ff. ³DRIA I, 7.45 ff. ⁴1956, 217. ⁵Cf. the interesting examples of this mentioned by Pokorny (1927, 374-5).

Adverbs of Time

§ 169. In the preceding sections, it was mentioned¹ that some adverbs of place also function in a temporal sense. In most cases, as e.g. that of ann 'in it', 'there', 'then', the basic meaning is a spatial one, and the temporal meaning due to an extension of the basic deictic function of the word. The temporal sense is shown clearly in examples like Críth Gabl.569 Is and is rí in tan dodnimmachellat dréchtai gíalnai 'it is then he is king, when ramparts of base clients surround him', and, to take one from Modern Irish, GCF 210.9 ach uaidh sin anuas níor fhan steamar ar bith orthab 'but from then on no steamer at all waited for them'².

§ 170. As one might expect, some tense restrictions are in force with some adverbs of time. In its original meaning of 'till night' caidchi can occur together with any tense of a verb, as Thes.II,334.4 ba tair coidchi inna gort 'till evening there was dry weather in her field', Fing.R.902 anaid-sium chaidthi (v.l. co haidhchi) forsin phurt 'he stays at the abode till night' and SG II,492.18 ...ina timchellfa do charpat chaidche '...as your chariot will go round before night' may show. The later meaning 'ever' mostly requires a future tense, as Ó Searcaigh³ points, giving

¹§ 165 above. ²Cf. also Ó Searcaigh 1939,257-8 for anall 'from beyond' and anonn 'to beyond' used in a temporal sense.

examples like béidh sé choidhche ag obair go dtuitfidh sé 'he'll be at work for ever until he falls',¹ with which one might compare GCF 211.26-7 pinginn dhó ní gheobhaidh mé choidhchinn 'I'll never get a penny from him'. On the other hand, there are older examples like PH .4196 lenait choidheo dia n-ulcc 'who ever pursue their wickedness',, where the rule is not very strictly adhered to, in so far as the tense used is a present, although the reference is to the future.

Similar rules seem² to apply to synonyms like go bráth and go deo, whereas, in the modern language, at any rate, ariamh 'ever' occurs mostly with past tenses, as in Ní fhaca mé an áit ariamh 'I never saw the place',³ and GCF 211.2 ní fhaca mé ariamh sa saoghal aon lá ba teócha ná é 'never in life did I experience a day that was warmer than it'. About this word, Sjoestedt-Jonval⁴ mentions the interesting feature that it is found in positive sentences "dans les contes" as in mheas sí riamh 'she always thought', whereas the normal meaning is 'never'. Again, the rule is not an absolute one, as there are some exceptions to the tense constraint⁵.

¹1939,255. ²Ó Searcaigh 1939,255-6; GCF 213.23-4: ní thiocfaidh an oiread sin de mhaith ar Chonamara go deó 'that amonut of good will never come to Connemara'.

³Ó Searcaigh 1939, 254. ⁴1938,77. ⁵Cf. DBIA R,57.62 ff.

In most cases like these, the constraints are readily understandable from the original meanings of the adverbs involved: go bráth 'till Doom'; go deo 'till end' and (a)riamh 'before it'.

ii. Phrase Syntax

Generalities

§ 171. As explained above¹, this heading describes the use of adverbs as qualifiers of elements in a sentence that are not predicates, or in other words, the role of adverbs in the syntax of a phrase. For the sake of comparison, however, I have also discussed adverbials that qualify nominal predicates, especially adjectives used with the copula.

Traditionally, it was stated that, apart from verbs, adverbs may qualify adjectives and other adverbs. To this one should add that in many languages adverbs and especially adverbials formed by prepositional phrases may also qualify nouns. In such cases it is often fairly clear that such phrases are the virtual equivalents of phrases containing a relative clause. Thus, an English phrase like motion downwards might be interpreted (with ellipsis of the predicate in the subordinate clause) as the equivalent of something like motion that goes downwards and a severely damaging statement as a paraphrase of a statement that damages severely, where the predicate is transformed into an element that belongs to a different class of major constituents.

¹ §§ 12 and 107.

Indeed, it would seem not at all impossible to use arguments such as these to show that all adverbials really qualify a predicate of some sort, which may not always, on the other hand, be expressed in the "surface structure" of a given language¹. Here it should, however, be quite sufficient to give an outline of what sorts of adverbs are found qualifying other elements inside a phrase.

Qualifiers of Adjectives

§ 172. In Old Irish, there seem to be no instances of de-adjectival adverbs in ind being used to qualify adjectives. This may simply be due to the lack of available material. On the other hand, if it could be substantiated into a fact about Old Irish, it would be rather unexpected, since most other European languages have constructions similar to that of English extremely good, French extrêmement bon etc.²

On the other hand, it is easy enough to find equivalent phrases, where one adjective determines another in some other way, as in Laws V, 112.7 nadbi caínfoltach nibi caínfuillmech 'he who is not well qualified is not well remunerated'³ with compounds of adjectives, or

¹Cf. further Lyons 1969, 326. ²Not so in Finnish, however, where the equivalent of the phrases quoted would be äärimmäisen hyvä with the genitive of äärimmäinen 'extreme' being used to qualify another adjective. The adverb qualifying a verb would be äärimmäisesti, with the special adverbial ending. Cf. § 30 above.

³Emended text and translation from Binchy 1958, 47.

by the use of a relative copula construction, as in CCath.555 is mormó is córa duit cathugud 'it is much more suitable for you to fight'.

As for the later formation in co, in none of the few examples I have of it from the glosses does it qualify an adjective that does not function as a predicate. Thus there seem to be no instances where attributive adjectives are qualified by another adjective in its adverbial forms. On the other hand, this happens fairly frequently where one of the adjectives is a predicate with the copula, as for instance in PH .5304-5 Ro-pud fherr co mor do'n duine sin cen a genemuin etir 'it would have been much better for that person not to have been born at all'. Consider also FA § 33 ocus is follus co mór gné m-broin fair-seom fassin ocus for Enóc 'an a countenance of sorrow is greatly evident on him himself and on Enoch'.

One interesting implication of the failure of de-adjectival adverbs to occur qualifying adjectives other than ones functioning as predicates would be that this might provide additional syntactic support for considering the unit formed by copula and nominal predicate as a major constituent at the same level as a finite verb¹.

¹I have tried to give some other reasons for this elsewhere. Cf. 1972, 271.

Exemplifying the use of adverbs with adjectives and adverbs, Brugmann and Delbrück¹ give the following two examples from Irish: "cach ndíriuch 'ganz direkt', in-biuc iarum 'pauolo post'". Neither of these is, however, altogether a good parallel to the Greek and Latin cases like *πολύ φίλτατος* and *vehementissime gratus*, since both Irish phrases consist of adverbs, not adjectives being qualified by an adverb². They do not give any adjectives proper being qualified by adverbials, though it is of course true that the latter element in cach ndíriuch is probably de-adjectival.

§ 173. In later Irish, I know of no examples until the present day, where adjectives not functioning as a predicate can be qualified by a de-adjectival adverb; modern usage seems to be that a de-adjectival adverb that is used to qualify another adjective is not preceded by the particle go, though apparent exceptions like GCF go réasúnta breaghda 'reasonably fine'³ against réasúnta trom 'reasonably heavy'⁴ are to be found. In these cases it seems impossible to determine what role the syntactic environment would have played. However, it seems not unreasonable to assume that go in the first phrase turns the whole phrase, not just the first word, into an adverbial, since a phrase like that as an attributive phrase would to me seem impossible and a phrase

¹1911, 755; cf. also Brugmann 1925, 128. ²Cf. § 178 below.
³208.2-3. ⁴208.1. Note that both phrases are given out of context.

like ?lá go réasúnta breaghdha 'a reasonably fine day' would thus, as far as I know, not be acceptable¹ Irish. On the other hand, there are many examples in Modern Irish, where adverbs in go are used to qualify adjectives that function as predicate with the copula, as for instance in GCF 206.29-30 b'fhearr dhó go fada fanacht sa mbaile 'it would be better for him by far to stay at home'.

The Christian Brothers state² that before an attributive adjective a de-adjectival adverb loses the particle go. This might be restated in a simpler form by saying that adjectives may qualify each other and in so doing they are not made into adverbs. This has the considerable advantage, that it takes account of the fact that very few adverbials of any kind seem to occur as qualifiers of attributive adjectives in Irish.

§ 174. Other types of adverbials seem to behave in much the same way as regards adjectives. Thus, where the qualified adjective functions as predicate, we find cases like Old Irish Wb. 2^b17 isnesa dogeintib 'he is nearer to Gentiles', Middle Irish PH .1778 Bid follus anosa 'it will be manifest now' and Modern Irish GCF 104.33-4 narbh fhearrde go deo é dá bhfaghadh sé é 'wouldn't it be far better if he got it'.

¹Note that the English very literal translation is unacceptable, whereas that of the acceptable Irish phrase is not: lá réasúnta breaghdha 'a reasonable good day'.

²1960, 274.

On the other hand, examples of attributive adjectives qualified by adverbials are rather difficult to find, unless one counts as such instances of participles such as that in GCF 104.33-4 sin fear gub é an lá beannaithe dhó an lá n-imtheoidh sé as an áit seo 'that's a man such that the day blessed to him is the day that he will leave this place'. In this case, dhó 'to him' definitely qualifies beannaithe 'blessed', that there can be no doubt about that.

In a case like san áit chéadna díreach a bhí sé '(it was) exactly in the same place that he was'¹, it is probably better to take díreach as the qualifier of the whole prepositional phrase san áit chéadna and not just of the attributive adjective chéadna. Also, note that in sentences like GCF 97.17-8 ní ba droch-mhargadh ar bith é 'it was not at all a bad bargain', the adverbial complements a nominal predicate that contains a preposed adjective in composition. Here it would be quite impossible to interpret ar bith as qualifying droch- only.

It is of course not possible to state rigorous rules based on such a small number of examples as the ones given here, especially when founding the argument on a specific construction NOT² occurring in the material at hand, but a reasonable working hypothesis would be

¹GCF 206.5-6; the copula is may be subsumed before san áit...

²Cf. § 106 above.

that, on the whole, attributive adjectives in Irish do not take adverbial qualifiers.

Qualifiers of Other Adverbs

§ 175. In giving examples of adverbs used to qualify other adverbs, a useful starting-point may be provided by the examples quoted above¹ from Brugmann and Delbrück. In a later work of Brugmann's² there is an additional example of an Old Irish adverb qualifying another, namely "in-chian riam 'longe ante'".

Thus, ML. 19^b6 in biuc iarum and ^b7 incian riam 'a little' and 'long before' as well as Wb. 7^b1 indinrice donaib noibaib 'worthily of the saints' show how, in Old Irish, a de-adjectival adverb is used to qualify another adverbial; I have no examples where the reverse happening, i.e. of other adverbs qualifying ones in ind... Also, it would be interesting to know whether a de-adjectival adverb in ind... could qualify another in Old Irish, but, as I can give no examples of this occurring, it is in fact possible but of course by no means certain that that this did not occur.

It is worth noting that the qualifying adverb normally comes before the one complemented. The only Old Irish exceptions to this that I know of all concern

¹§ 172. ²1925, 123.

(int)sainriud 'especially' which usually seems to follow the word it qualifies, as in ML. 54^a22 air is doassaraib int sainriud trimedirgedar 'for it is to the Assyrians in particular that he refers'¹. However, in a case like this, one might argue that intsainriud is more a qualifier of the noun in the prepositional phrase than of the phrase as a whole.

§ 176. In Middle Irish, adverbials qualifying other adverbs also occur, as in PH .2997 is ed sin ro-terchan in fáid o chéin máir anall 'that is what the prophet had foretold long before'. On the other hand, I have no instances where de-adjectival adverbs in co... are found as qualifiers of other adverbs. Instead one finds compounding, as in PH .839 boí occa co lán-gradach sist fhota 'he lived with her a long while full lovingly'. In PH .6507 Ar is e cathaiges co calma in t-í fhedliges co lán cobsaid is-na sualachib 7 i ndeg-gnímaib 'for he fights bravely who endures full firmly in virtues and good deeds' the translation² implies that lán cobsaid should be taken as a compound, not to be confused with those cases where two de-adjectival adverbs are conjoined and only the first one is preceded by co, as in PH .584 co hanband edana 'weakly and timidly' (where a conjunction is used, on the other hand, as in PH .4672 col-léir 7

¹Cf. also ML. 35^a8 (twice); 54^c35; 137^b5 and Sg. 8^b6.

²Atkinson 1887, 460.25-6. Cf. his glossary which (591, col.2.3) writes a compound: lán-cobsaid, but without the expected lenition.

co tremfurachair 'clearly and very carefully' both take co). However, it is hardly possible to be altogether certain about lán cobsaid, since if this were a genuine compound one would expect lenition in cobsaid. The lack of lenition in this word may of course be due to a mere scribal error, but it remains possible if somewhat unlikely that this may represent a fore-runner of the later way of making adjectives qualify each other.

§ 177. In Modern Irish, it seems rather easier to find examples of de-adjectival adverbs in go being used to qualify other adverbs, as in Nuair a bhí sé a' tarraingt gar go maith don bhaile¹ 'when he was drawing very closely to home', where go maith 'well, very' qualifies gar 'closely', which in its turn qualifies don bhaile 'to home', thereby also illustrating how an adverbial such as a prepositional phrase may be qualified by an adverb.

At this point, something may be said about predicative adjectives, i.e. ones that occur as a complement of the verb tá 'is'. As we have seen², these are probably best analysed in Irish syntax as coming under the wider heading of adverbials. Thus, it could be shown that, like other adverbials, they may be qualified by an adverb, as in GCF 204.3 tá sí an-so-láimsithe ar fad

¹Ó Máille 1927, 137.24. ²Cf. § 150 above.

'she is altogether very easily handled'. This example also shows that Modern Irish uses prefixes to qualify adjectives in what in other languages would be an adverbial way. In this particular case, it would seem that the prefix an- 'very' is rather more alive, at least in Connemara, than the pair so- 'good', 'easily' and do- 'bad', 'with difficulty'.¹

Finally, it should be noted under this heading that from the point of view of the structure of constituents in a main clause, some conjunctions introducing a subordinate clause are equivalent to adverbs within a simple sentence. Thus it would be expected that adverbs might qualify conjunctions, and this does indeed occur, as in Wb. 29^d23 issamlid arrobertsom arníc ní cidrisíu robeimmi etir 'it is thus He has designed our salvation even before we existed at all' for Old Irish and GCF 203.19-20 ní fhuicéagam áiridacénauair a theagann siad 'I don't know exactly when they come' for Modern Irish.

¹Cf. Wigger 1970, 43-5 who does not list so- and do- amongst "Adverbial- und Ableitungspräfixe". It is however to be expected that it might have been alive still, at least in the speech of an older generation, from which de Bhaldraithe got his informants, even if Wigger's informants apparently no longer used these prefixes in a productive manner; cf. also Wagner's review of Wigger's dissertation (1972^b, 300.).

Qualifiers of Nouns

§ 178. The use of prepositional phrases to qualify nouns calls for no special mention. Apart from that, adverbs are used fairly freely to qualify nouns in Irish, perhaps rather more so, it would seem, than in English, as can be shown in some examples.

First of all, there even seem to be cases where¹ de-adjectival adverbs qualify nouns, as in Sg. 199^{b5} conicsom isuidiu nad labrathar dese sech nach persin indsainriuth 'it is able here not to speak de se rather than any person especially'.

Of other adverbials used in this position, the ^{of place} adverbials are especially noteworthy. This has probably become more common as the language developed, in particular in the case where they are found as attributes of taobh 'side'², but this is by no means the only noun with which they are found. There are cases like GCF 117 n.1 cuir ceist ar an bhfear isteach 'ask the man (who's come) in'. In a case like this, the translation shows that the phrase is a virtual equivalent of a relative clause, where the adverb would of course qualify a predicate, in this case the verb 'has come'.

¹In this connection note colloquial French phrases like des gens bien 'nice (literally 'well') people'.

²GCF 218-9; Interestingly enough, expressions like this are also used adverbially as in GCF 218.10 gabh taobh amach 'go outside'.

This kind of turn of phrase is occasionally found in the older language as well; consider e.g. TBC³ 4624-5 as discussed above.¹

Finally, it must be noted that there are some interesting cases where these adverbs are used in a metaphorical sense, as in the legal terms illustrated in Laws IV,72.y-z Mad sed a deir an fer amuigh, is cuaille cétcintach, ocus isedh a deir an fer tall ní derma cin itir... 'If what the man outside (=the plaintiff) says is, it is a stake of first fault, and what within (= the defendant) says is, it is not at fault at all...'.¹

¹Cf. § 157 above.

PART IV. REFERENCE SECTION

1. Bibliography and Abbreviations

§ 179 In most cases, abbreviations familiar to Celticists have been used, generally ones found in DRIA or (in a few cases) in OCD. This mainly concerns texts cited, but also some other works frequently quoted. Except for abbreviations used in BL, I have tried to include a full list of the abbreviations in the present work, as well as books and articles mentioned.

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Zu ir. HS. = Rudolf Thurneysen 1912, Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern; Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen. Abh. Phil.Hist.Kl. XIV no 2.

YBL = Robert Atkinson, ed. 1896, The Yellow Book of Lecan, Dublin.

ii. Selective Index of Words.

§ 180. This includes most words discussed in the text; the main exceptions are ones included in longer passages cited (especially in the section on syntax § 105 ff.) and not crucial to the discussion. The numbers refer to paragraphs in the text.

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